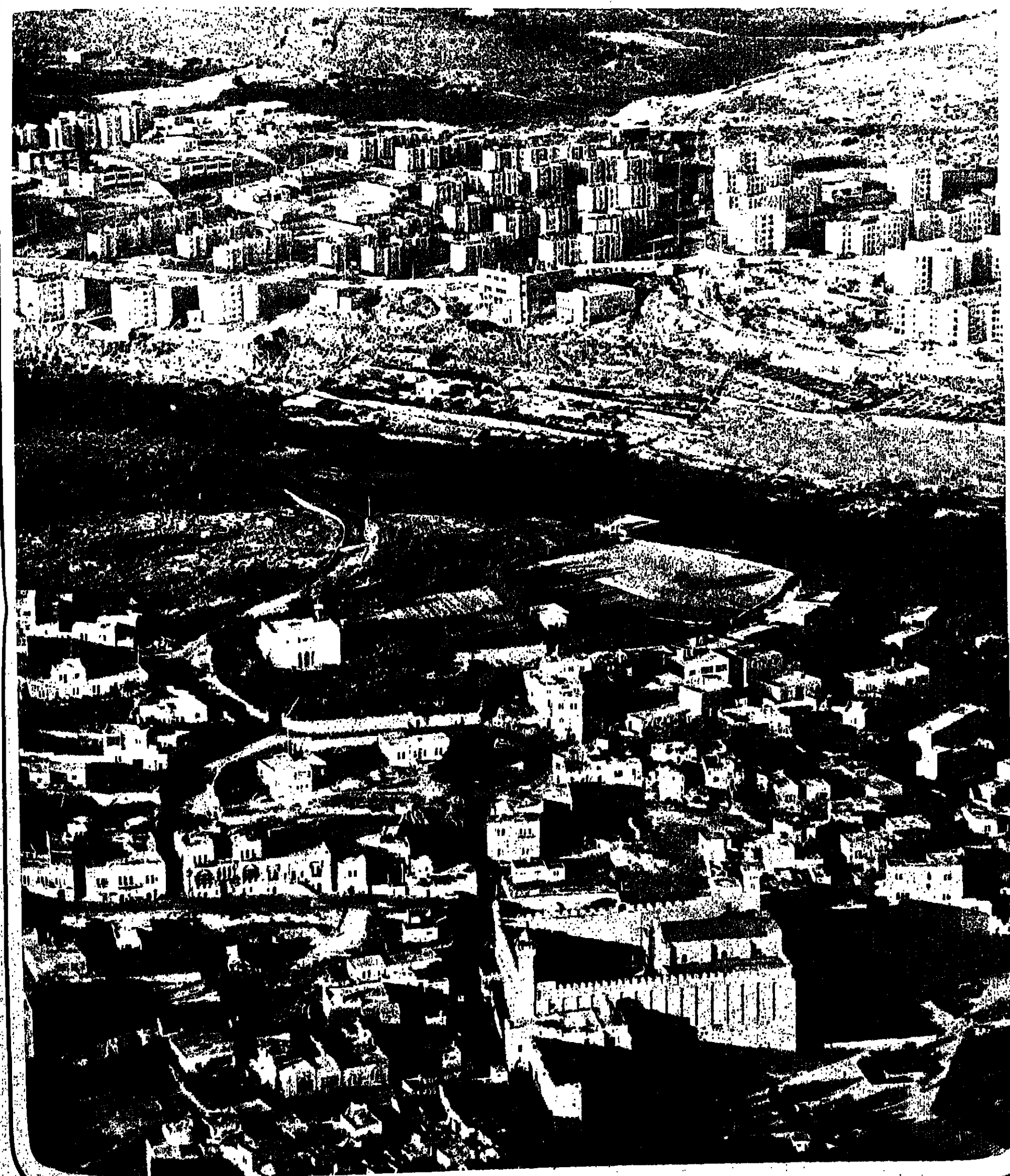


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THE JERUSALEM  
**POST**  
MAGAZINE

Rosh Hashana 5738

## The settlement debate



הכרזת האל



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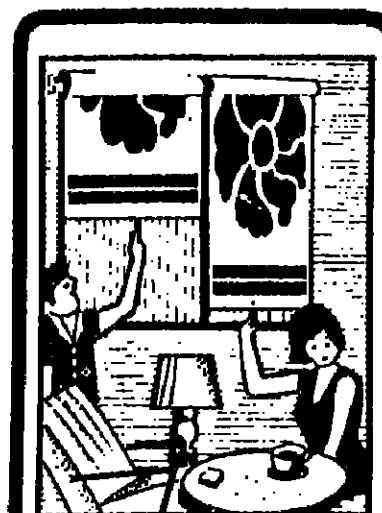
\* On December 31st, 1976.



Cover: Bird's-eye view of Kiryat Arba and Hebron (D. Rubinger).

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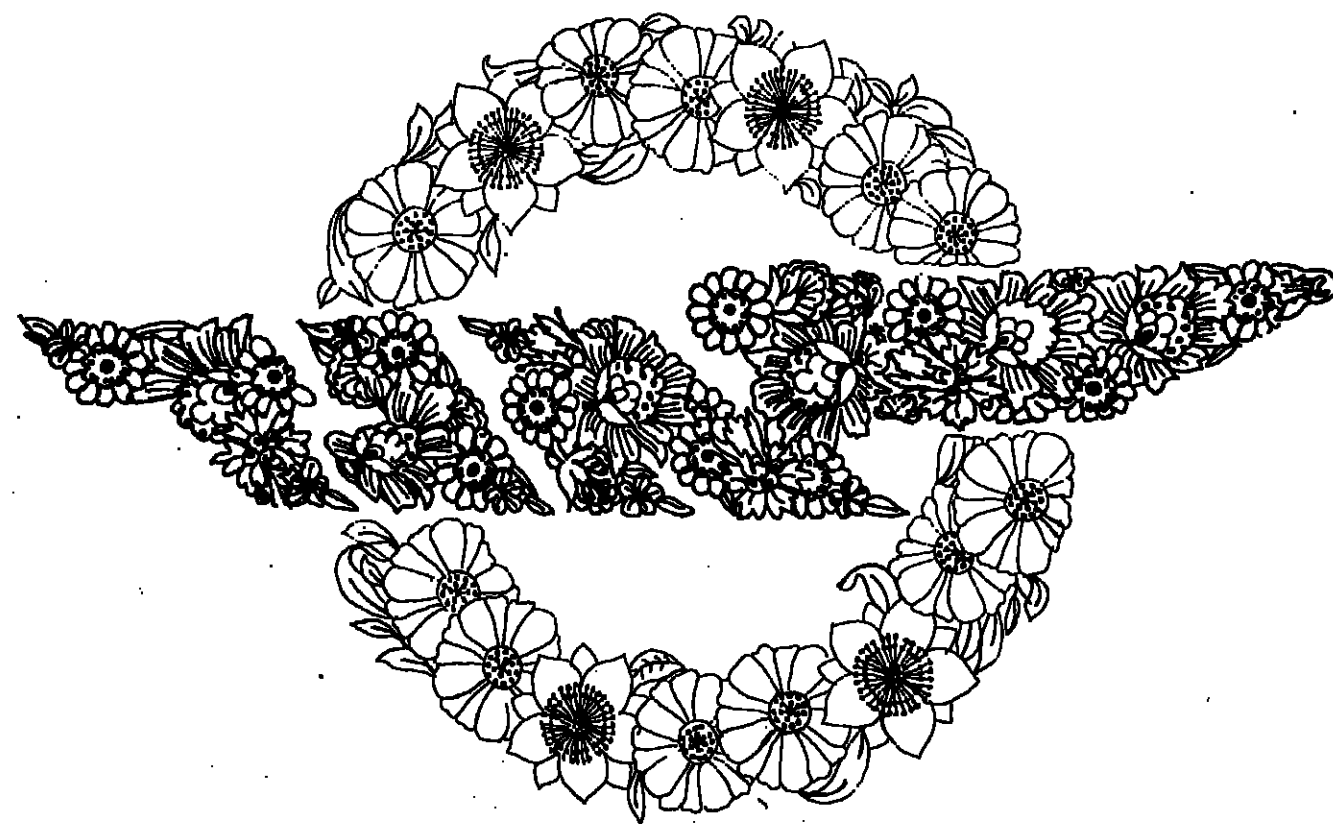
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## HAPPY NEW YEAR



דור

# DAYAN AND THE TERRITORIES

"I DON'T SAY it is a very good plan," said Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, in a long conversation about the West Bank. "It is a plan for a situation where there is no agreement. All the other plans I've seen are far worse."

The plan for a "functional" division of authority in the West Bank in place of a territorial, physical division with new boundaries has been cooking slowly on a back burner in Dayan's fertile brain since 1967. At that time, only six weeks after a war that produced staggering victories and a mood of wild optimism, Dayan had said to me:

"We've missed out on it. They are not going to make peace. Why? Peace is difficult for them. It would need some positive, voluntary act. To put up with occupation is easier, more passive. They don't actually have to agree to it."

That was said 10 years ago. At that time, practically all of the occupied areas except Jerusalem would have been vacated without hesitation for a peace agreement. The fluid situation of 1967 has now solidified and hardened, become more difficult to change.

"The only absolute statement Begin took to Washington was that we would not agree to any kind of foreign government in the West Bank," Dayan said. "We are not prepared at this time to dismantle our radar stations there, or withdraw our troops, or allow in the soldiers of another power... No, it isn't the same as saying we insist on Israeli rule. There are all kinds of possibilities."

The foreign minister was warming up to his pet subject, but you couldn't pin him down.

"There are now two clear, undisputed states, Israel and Jordan, and an undefined area between them. For that area there could be all kinds of arrangements, with Jordan, or with Israel and Jordan combined. Would any kind of foreign government leave our radar there? And we need it."

"There are three things we want on the West Bank. We want to be able to have new settlements, but only where we can buy the land. Ma'aleh Adumim? That was a Jordanian army area, not privately-owned land. We also want to be free to travel all over the area without need for visas or permits."

There was such a suggestion once, wasn't there? Didn't Rabin say he was willing to get a visa to go to the Elzion Bloc?

Dayan sketched something in the air, hugely amused. It really wasn't one of Rabin's happiest ideas. "And we want the right to maintain military bases."

The settlements would be for security, too?

"Yes, but the settlements are for historic reasons as well."

BLUNTLY, no explanations. It is hard to tell which is the more important to him, or perhaps to the government to which he belongs. Dayan doesn't give anything away unless he wants to.

You have said that there are nevertheless some elements of agreement with the Americans. Like, say, they do not believe that the West Bank should be split. The Arabs also don't accept the Allon plan or anything of that kind: nobody wants it split. That is a negative kind of agreement with us. A more positive agree-



(Rubinger)

On the eve of his trip to the U.N. general assembly, Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan discusses his own proposal for a "functional" division of authority of the West Bank and his position in the Likud Government with LEA BEN DOR. He says that there are "historic reasons," as well as military and political ones, for new settlements. An in-depth survey on the question of settlement, including expositions of the "hawkish" and "dovish" views, a survey of settlement plans and a look at two urban settlements across the "Green Line," appear in this special Rosh Hashana supplement.

ment is that the Americans don't say: 'Get out now, or even take two years, or three years, and then get out.' They would like an interim period under Israeli-Jordan trusteeship, or perhaps UN trusteeship, and then a plebiscite.

"We don't agree to a vote of that kind, which must bring in the PLO as things stand now. But if it means talking about a new form of co-existence after a period of peace — that is getting nearer a solution, nearer our view. They don't rule this out."

"The Americans have accepted the Arab argument that there should be a Palestinian state, that there will be peace only if there is such a state. I think they are taking a simplistic, one-stage view of it: get peace first. What happens after is not their concern now. But Carter has committed himself publicly to not putting pressure on us in military and economic areas

If we cannot accept these proposals."

A note of anxiety showed through the general cheerfulness here. "I have just seen the list of the West Bank mayors who did not go to Jordan to congratulate Hussein — Nabli, Hebron, Ramallah and Tulikarem. That means they do not support Hussein but the PLO, or rather, a separate Palestinian state. They are not great supporters of Yasser Arafat any longer, they would prefer local leadership. But any such state would be PLO-dominated."

Isn't the PLO tempted to pay lip-service to the American suggestions that they accept Resolution 242 so as to get to Geneva and generally get support for their position?

"They would never do that without Russian agreement; they don't want just a dialogue with the Americans. Besides, it makes no

sense for them. Once there is a Palestinian state they must offer homes to all the refugees. Could they absorb even the 190,000 from the Gaza Strip? And 850,000 from Lebanon and Syria? And half a million from Jordan and Kuwait? Where would they put them? In Nabli? In Hebron?

"The PLO as it is can't accept the recognition of Israel. There is a basic conflict here that cannot be ended until the refugees are permanently settled where they are and the move is accepted as a historic transfer. Altogether 600,000 Palestinians left in 1948. The whole problem is not so hard to solve. After all, 850,000 Jews left Arab countries during that time and have got settled."

"The younger people in Gaza, for instance, don't want to move. You know, it's a real Riviera along there. We suggested some go to Nabli, but they didn't want to shift."

"But we can't convince our friends on the Palestinian issue at all. Not the Americans, not others."

HE TURNED with a shrug and a frown.

"If I can't persuade our friends the Dutch, who are such nice people, whom can I persuade? You know what Ben-Gurion said once when we had trouble? That the *goyim* have to be idiots or geniuses to understand Zionism."

"The Palestinians speak openly nowadays. They feel freer than they did under Hussein. They simply say, 'You go, and we'll worry.' A doctor in Gaza said to me that he wouldn't care if there were only ten doctors in the whole area, he'd rather than have Hadassah there. But of course while we are there, while nobody else is responsible, there are things that have to be seen to, if it is only the drains."

"We could close it all up and stay out," Dayan ruminated. "Keep out of the Cashah in Nabli — but there would still be the drains. If we sealed off Gaza again, and the people couldn't come to work here or to sell their stuff, they'd all be back in the camps. Yes, they still get a bit of UN money, but it's peanuts compared to what they can earn. A few old women collect the allowance, that's all."

But can a boy from Gaza reckon on being prime minister, foreign minister, some place, some day? Whatever law he lives under, Israeli or Jordanian, can he get a share in making that law? The argument of this disability is one I've often heard used.

"Maybe a few American pressmen worry about this." Dayan didn't seem overly impressed by anything so theoretical as the constitutional problem. "OK, so we go. You know what? Gaza would turn back into a nest of vipers in a month."

(Before the Strip's border with Israel was opened up, murder and intimidation were commonplace. Some of the violence was political, directed against persons cooperating with Israel, but much of it was simply a matter of theft, robbery, kidnapping and gang rule.)

"The trouble in Gaza stopped not just because Arik [Sharon] went in there with the army, but because we also let them go to work in Tel Aviv without papers or permits. They're 'hanging loose' now. They don't shoot because they have something better to do."

THAT PHRASE sums up an important part of the Dayan political philosophy today. For others, or for himself too, for Israel? At 20, certainly, he could have stayed quietly in Nahalal, happily figuring short-cuts to better farming, to fatter cows and greener spinach. In fact, he slipped off to the Hagana, where there was not only shooting but the danger of being caught by a British patrol and sent to prison for carrying arms. He spent two years in jail in Acre for this offence.

In the last years before World War II, the life of the Jewish Yishuv in this country was, of course, much more precarious and threatened than is that of the population of Gaza today. But who can evaluate other people's

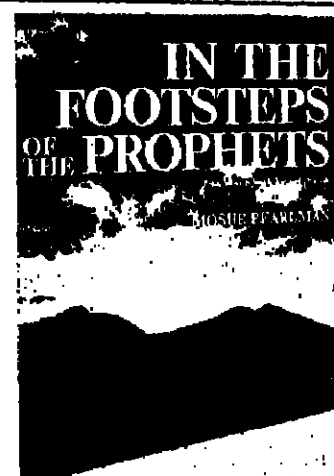
(Continued overleaf)



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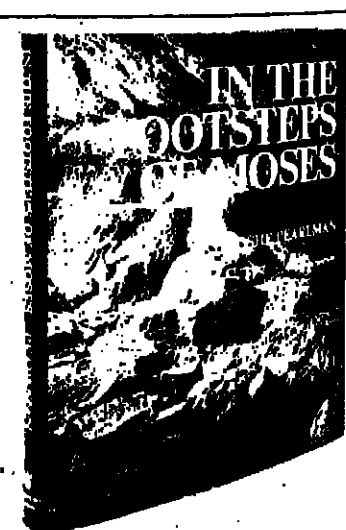
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## DAYAN

(Continued from page 5)

political needs and pressures, especially when they conflict with our own interests? President Carter just doesn't feel as threatened by a Palestinian state as we do.

There is no practical solution for the Palestinians now in Gaza except to stay there and develop their rich little piece of land, send their young people to study in Egypt, and take extra jobs in Tel Aviv.

Dayan has been pre-eminently practical at all times; he was never a theorizer or an ideologist. Too practical, surely, to underestimate the general Semitic addition to religious and communal politics, long-cherished grievances, memories of suffering and of past glories. In all this the Arabs have proved not so different from the Jews themselves.

OUR SCHOLARS and historians claim that the real obstacle to the Arab acceptance of Israel as a permanent reality is nothing so simple as a demand to shift a border a few kilometres this way or that. It is the obsessive vision of Islam as a conquering power that cannot, literally, be opposed which enables many Arabs to disregard Israel victories as unreal and at most temporary. A decade of successful oil politics has naturally strengthened this belief in the power of Islam.

This aspect of the problem may be insoluble. As a soldier, Dayan learnt the art of avoiding losing battles, of fighting at the points of his own choice. It worked well enough for a long time. The lack of preparedness for the Yom Kippur War has even been attributed to Dayan's having lost all interest in war as an instrument of policy after the failure of the 1967 victories to produce a solution.

When you get down to it, then, what can we offer the Palestinians?

"Functional disengagement and co-existence when there is peace. But don't let anyone say that the reason there is no agreement with the Arabs, or the U.S., is that we don't want to partition the West Bank. Nobody outside wants the Allon plan either."

Would any Arab state make peace on the basis of some "functional" arrangement?

"Sadat is inclined to peace, I think. He has a lot of economic trouble at home. But he's not desperate for peace. He cannot afford to have the Arab world say he has abandoned the interests of the Palestinian people. There could be another crisis sooner or later."

"The Americans foresee an interim period in the West Bank, prior to any final decision, but they postulate withdrawal from Sinai and the Golan following a peace agreement. We need security in Sinai; the certainty of free passage past Sharm el-Sheikh to Egypt; and some arrangement that will place a barrier between the Gaza area and Egypt. A direct link there (as before 1967), would be unacceptable. Security in Sinai is more important than occupation."

"There have been all sorts of proposals — joint Israeli-Egyptian control, which would be best, or joint U.S.-Soviet control. The Russians are reluctant. Can you see them having to stop an Egyptian army from attacking us? And the Americans are not at

all keen to be involved. The UN is no good; they get out too fast if there is trouble. In Sinai we might accept an American guarantee if we were offered one, but in that case I'd like it for a hundred years."

If we cannot get an agreement for co-existence what shall we do? Annex the West Bank or leave it completely?

"The three points I listed are very important, but I should not want Israel responsible for the whole area — to hold Nablu, for instance. If there were a choice between representation for a million Arabs in the Knesset, and leaving Nablu — that wouldn't be a hard choice."

And Begin agrees with that? Did you persuade him or make it a condition for coming into his government?

"MY CONDITION was that there should be no annexation while talks were continuing. Begin is easy to get along with. But I didn't persuade him. That's not the way it was."

Dayan laughed. "He loves a formula. Begin could have had a majority in the Knesset for annexation with the support of the religious parties, I imagine, if he wanted to. So I must suppose he didn't want it at present. And once he asked me to come in, this obligates him to wait. Apart from that he expects me to produce my own ideas, not just to carry out his. If we ever disagreed on a major issue, I would go."

"It was different with Ben-Gurion; I suppose I accepted him as an authority. There was the age difference, too. Sometimes when I disagreed with him, I thought that perhaps he was right nevertheless. Today it is different."

Don't you miss the Labour people, people you worked with all your life?

"Golda has always lived like that, always with the party people. I never have. I've never gone out to have tea with people and talk politics, and they don't come to my house for that, either."

The Labour movement wanted a new society as well as a Jewish state. That doesn't matter?

"If we lived in Holland it might matter. Or maybe I'd get interested in tulips instead. Here, in our situation, security must come first. Without it there is nothing."

Earlier on, I had a question on Likud views. "Ask them," he said. "I'm not in the Likud."

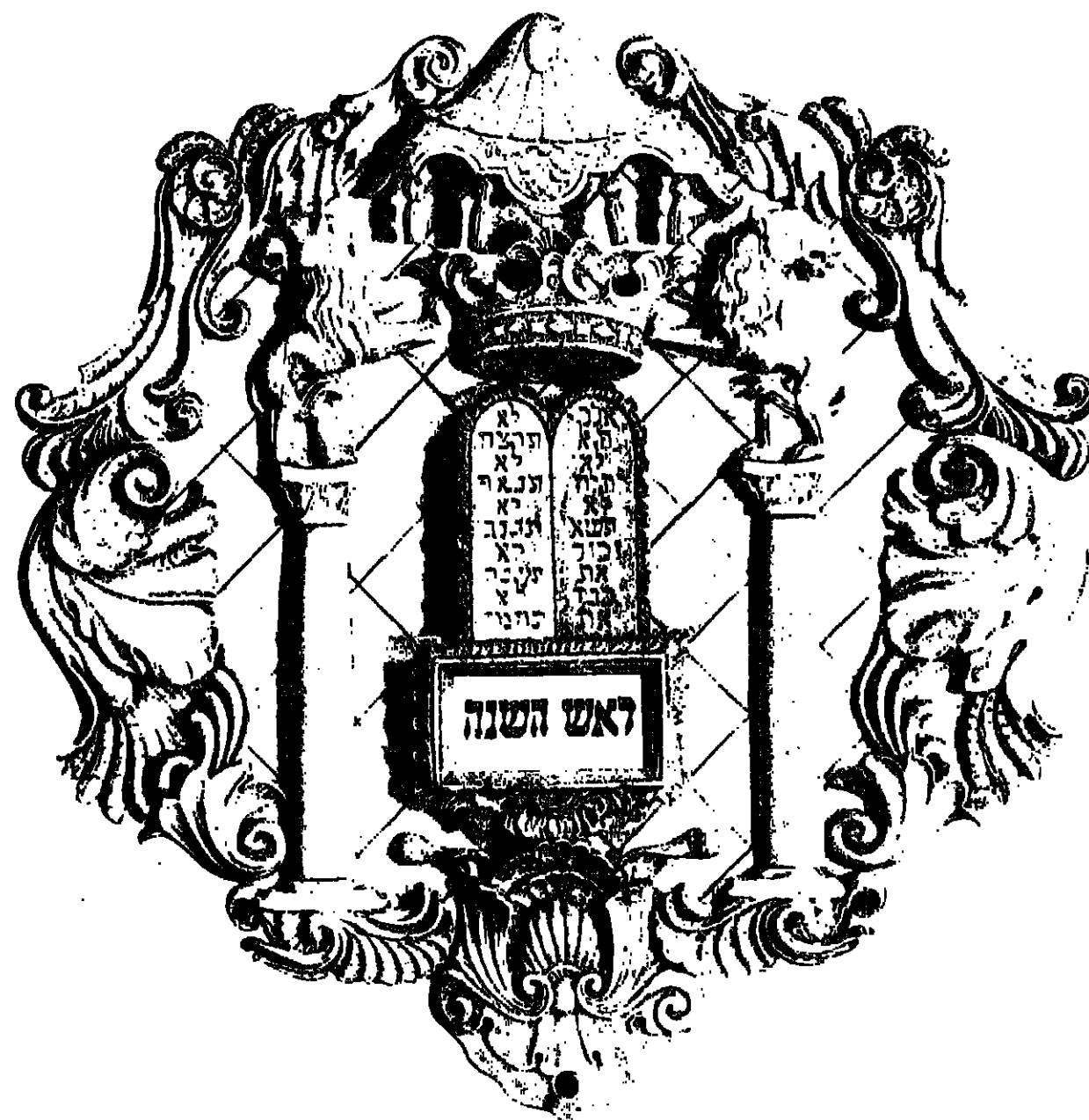
There is no easy give and take between Dayan and the Likud, no automatic acceptance. If Dayan has any success, the Likud will be able to credit Begin's good judgment. If there is no success, they can say it is because he does not consult with the party."

But then Dayan has never been a party man in the ordinary sense. Our acquaintanceship goes back a good many years. In the first interview he gave me he produced such unorthodox views on economics that I asked him why he didn't join the General Zionists (forerunners of the Liberals) instead of Labour. Not seriously, it would have been unthinkable in those days for a member of a founding family in Nahalal to leave Labour.

He understood it as a straight but stupid question.

"What would be the point?" he asked. "I'm interested in defence and foreign affairs. Labour holds those portfolios. What would there be for me to do in the General Zionists?"

Times have changed a bit, that's all. I suspect that Moshe Dayan has stayed much the same.



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הגדה של פסח

# SETTLEMENT AT THE CROSSROADS

After a decade of close coordination, the two major bodies planning settlement in rural areas appear to have reached a parting of the ways. ABRAHAM RABINOVICH looks at the plan of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, and compares it with the programme outlined recently by the chairman of the Ministerial Settlement Committee.

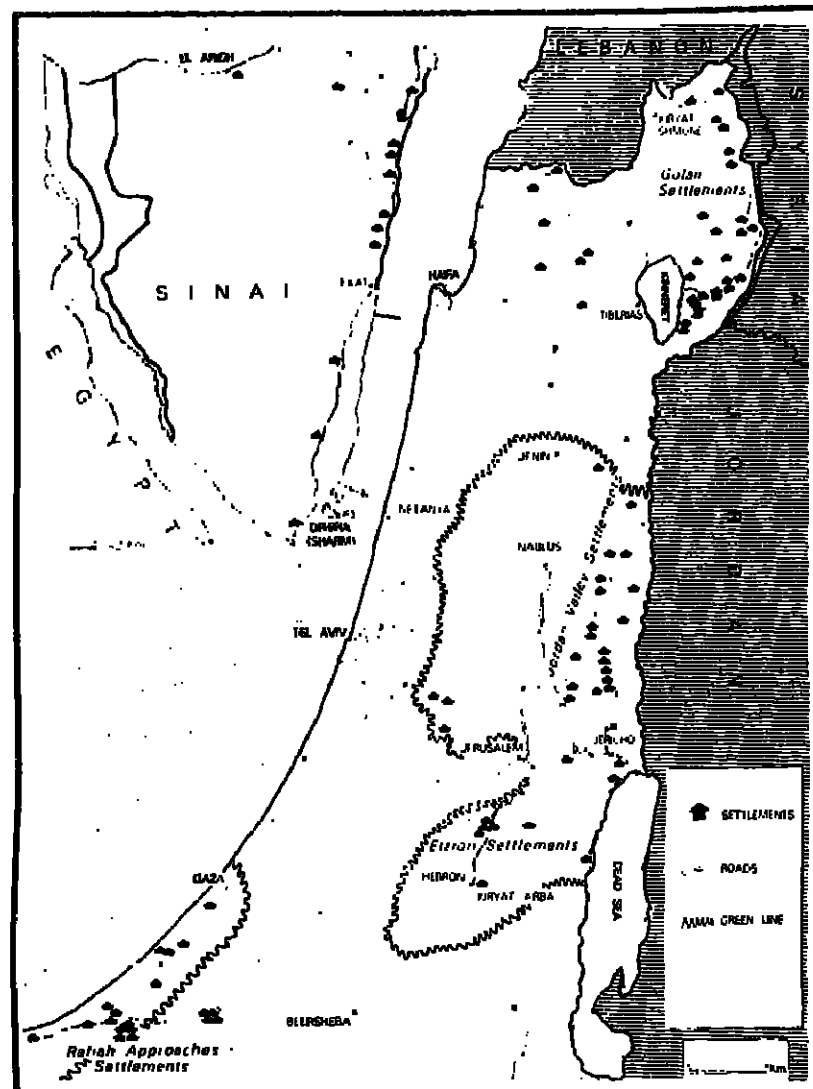
BEGINNING in almost offhand fashion as a grassroots movement, settlement across the pre-1967 border has developed in the past 10 years into high policy touching on cardinal questions of Israel's future.

At the end of July, 1967, members of Galilee and Jordan Valley settlements began moving into army installations on the Golan Heights abandoned by the Syrians little more than a month before. Their object was to "create facts" and ensure that a permanent civilian Israeli presence would be established on the heights which had so long been an ominous threat looming over them.

Such a presence was hardly a foregone conclusion at the time. "People were still thinking in terms of the Sinai Campaign when we pulled back after a few months," recalls Meir Shamir, who was to become the settlement official in charge of coordination on the Golan.

Government policy would probably have evolved in due course, in the direction of settlement; but the partisan efforts certainly prodded it into movement earlier. In the case of Kiryat Arba, Rabbi Moshe Levinger and his followers squatting in a Hebron hotel pushed the government into doing something it had at first explicitly opposed — creating a Jewish urban settlement in Hebron.

The young men whose fathers had been killed or captured in the fall of the Etzion Bloc to the Arab Legion 19 years earlier began petitioning government officials for permission to resettle on that West Bank site almost as soon as the Six Day War ended. By the end of September, 1967, the



Map shows settlements outside pre-1967 borders, established in the last decade.

government agreed to the establishment of a para-military Nahal settlement at Gush Etzion. In the same month, the

plan for official settlement on the Golan was drawn up. Similar planning was also begun for the other territories beyond the green line, that marked the border on the pre-1967 maps of Israel.

THE POST-1967 period has seen the greatest thrust in settlement building since the days of mass immigration following the establishment of the state, when some 350 settlements were established in five years.

The pace of the early '50s had gradually tapered off and on the eve of the Six Day War there were hardly any *gavimim* — settlement groups — waiting to go up on the land. In the three years preceding the war, only five new settlements were established. In the 10 years since, 113 settlements have been established, 77 of them across the green line. The densest concentration, numbering 26, is on the Golan Heights. A close second is the lower Jordan Valley, including the eastern slopes of Samaria, with 21 settlements.

The Etzion Bloc now has seven settlements and there are three others at other points on top of the West Bank hills. The Rafiah area, including the southern tip of the Gaza Strip, has 17 existing or under construction, and the east Sinai coast south of Eilat has three.

Most of the settlements are traditional moshavim or kibbutzim; but a dozen are Nahal settlements which have not yet been "civilianized." Four on the Golan are designated civilian "outposts" and six are urban settlements.

Within the green line, 36 settlements have been established in the past decade in the Galilee, Arava, Be'er region and

elsewhere.

Thousands of would-be settlers are organized today in *gavimim*. In contrast with the European town dwellers who founded the early kibbutzim and the immigrants from Islamic countries who were settled in the post-1948 moshavim, most of the new settlers are youths born in kibbutzim and moshavim.

These second-generation farmers are capable of applying modern agro-techniques without the painful years of trial their parents had to undergo. This is one of the principal reasons that the settlements are able to become self-sufficient — indeed, — sometimes highly profitable — within a very few years.

THE PRIMARY vehicle for rural settlement for the past half century has been the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency. It maintained its role even after the founding of the state. With the domination by the Labour movement of both the government and the Agency, an identity of political outlook was ensured.

For legal reasons, operative responsibility for settlements beyond the green line after 1967 was given to the Settlement Department of the World Zionist Organization (WZO) which is nearly identical in its personnel with that of the Agency's Settlement Department. Since 1970, decisions on settlements beyond the green line are made by a body commonly known as the Ministerial Committee on Settlement, but actually composed of an equal number of government ministers and members of the WZO.

The advent of a Likud ad-

ministration has snapped the organic political ties between the government and the WZO. Each has now drawn up its own settlement plan. The head of the Ministerial Settlement Committee, Ariel Sharon, has presented his plan to Prime Minister Begin. Prof. Ra'anan Weitz, head of the WZO Settlement Department, will present his plan to the Zionist Congress in February.

The WZO plan, based on extensive professional knowledge, is likely to form an important element in the government's overall approach to settlement even though the government undoubtedly intends to go beyond it as far as West Bank settlement is concerned.

Following is the first public look at the WZO settlement proposal for 1977-1982.

WHERE TWO-THIRDS of new settlements in the last 10 years were established across the green line, Weitz proposes concentrating two-thirds in Israel proper during the next 15 years. This reversal of emphasis in part reflects limitations of arable land and water across the green line. It also reflects Weitz' political views, which dictate the avoidance of settlement in the heavily-populated areas of the West Bank.

Out of the 186 settlements to be established in the period, Weitz proposes 49 for the territories. Of these, 20 are designated for the Rafiah area, 10 for the Golan Heights, four for the eastern Sinai coast and 15 for the West Bank, including the lower Jordan Valley, Judea and the slopes of Samaria.

To know the precise difference between what Weitz and Sharon have in view for the West Bank — and the only significant difference between them apparently, concerns the West Bank — we must wait for a detailed presentation of their respective plans. Both have thus far refrained from spelling out the precise ideas they have in mind.

Both propose a line of settlement running from north to south on the western edge of Samaria which borders Israel's narrow waist and population centres. Weitz' settlements, however,

would straddle the green line and apparently penetrate it eastward no more than two or three kilometres. Sharon indicated on a map during a television interview last Friday that this north-south line would be higher up in the foothills but still short of the crest of the central hill chain.

The difference between Sharon's line and Weitz' is probably only a few kilometres; but the West Bank is so narrow that the difference on a map is significant — especially con-



sidering that most of the opposite — eastern — slopes of Samaria are designated by both men for Jewish settlements.

This leaves only the spine of the hills — perhaps 30-40 km. wide — as an area of predominantly Arab settlement. But while Weitz would refrain from introducing Israeli settlements here except around Jerusalem and the Etzion Bloc, Sharon would create three urban centres on the crest outside the Jerusalem area — one between Bethlehem and Hebron and two at the northern end of the West Bank. He may have smaller settlements in mind as well to straddle an east-west road he proposes pushing through the heart of Samaria.

WEITZ' SETTLEMENT plan for the next 15 years envisions three major thrusts, which he calls the Southern Project, the Eastern

Project and the Northern Project.

It is the Northern Project, settlement of the Galilee, that he speaks of with the greatest sense of urgency.

"There is a real danger of the Galilee not being an integral part of the country," he says. Living in the Galilee hills today are 62,000 Jews and 180,000 Arabs and other minorities. Between Arab Nazareth and the Lebanese border there is no Jewish settlement.

The WZO plan calls for 41 new settlements in the Galilee by 1982. To overcome the shortage of arable land, Weitz has proposed a new settlement concept — a communal village based on light industry. The first such settlements are already being developed.

The Eastern Project, embracing the Golan, lower Jordan Valley, Arava (inside the green line) and the eastern Sinai coast, envisions 29 new settlements in the next 15 years and is plainly in support of political objectives.

Major emphasis is given to the Southern Project, which overlaps the green line. Its area extends from Rafiah almost to Beerseheba. Climate and soil conditions make this an ideal region for the growth of profitable winter vegetables for Europe. In the coming 15 years, 94 settlements would be built in the area, 20 of them across the green line, the rest in Israel proper.

As a central principle, Weitz' plan avoids the populated areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"History shows that you can live in peace provided you can separate," he says. "Catholic Ireland could coexist with Protestant Ulster. But an Ulster in which large numbers of Catholics live with a Protestant majority is a wound that will never heal. Cyprus won't heal unless it's divided."

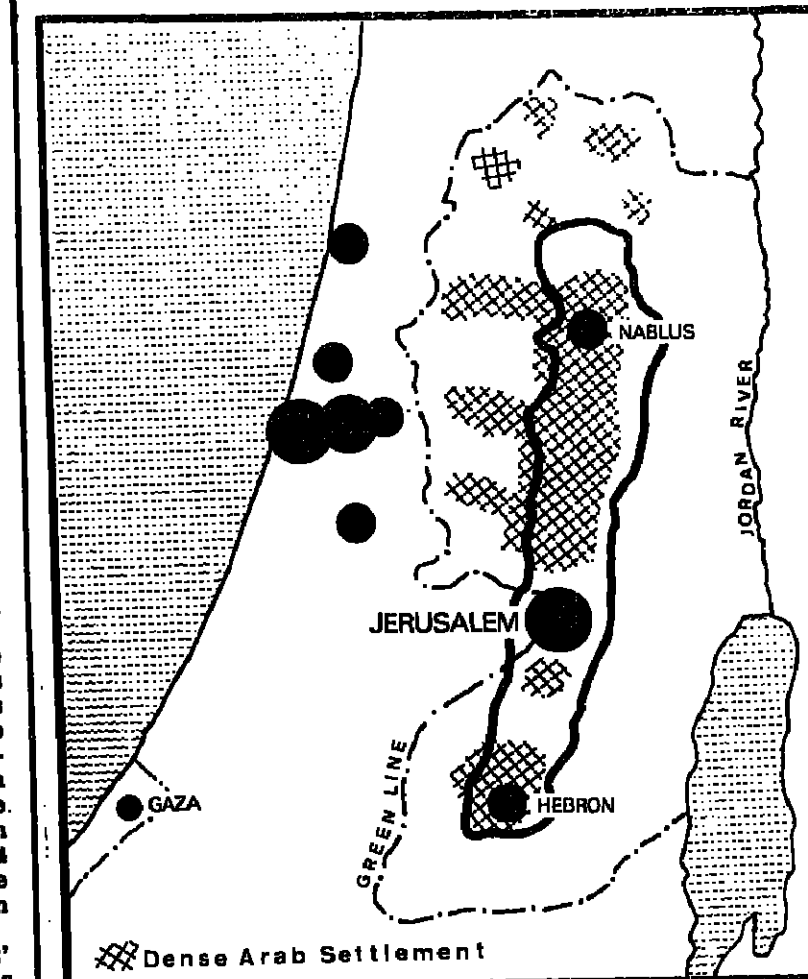
"In Galilee, our solution must be to have a preponderance of Jews, with a very small Arab minority. But in the West Bank and Gaza we will never have an overwhelming preponderance, even if we have an immigration of 100,000 a year. The solution must be separation of the population while holding on to the strategic lines — along the Jordan, for instance — on which our fate depends."

also an ever urbanizing society with the cities becoming less and less livable. In the process, says Weitz, family and community have been replaced by an amorphous society. "The basis of society — the nuclear family — is being destroyed and the signs of nihilism are increasing. Look at Sweden. They have everything and don't know what to do. Religion is gone and the family structure is gone. A mortal stands naked and asks questions he should never have to ask — who am I, where am I going?"

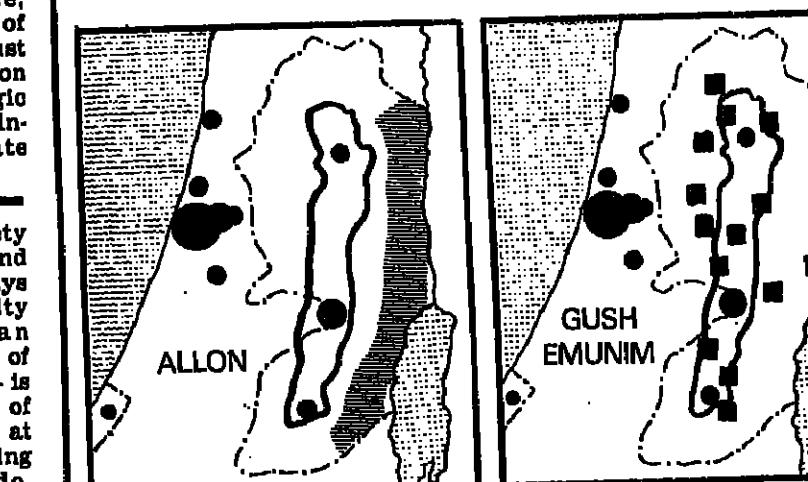
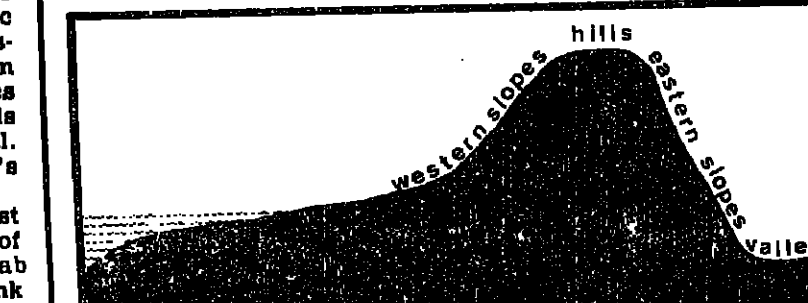
The model of a new society represented by the *kafat*, Weitz believes, offers a way out of the blind alley of super-urbanization and rootlessness. The *kafat* permits a wide choice of occupational opportunities while maintaining geographical stability for the individual and family. It also offers a new style of life for persons weary of the city — a rural life based on mutual help and equality. Regional organization would permit a high level of amenities commensurate with the needs of the population that would seek out this type of living.

"We are on the verge," says Weitz, "of giving the world something more far-reaching than the kibbutz or moshav." □

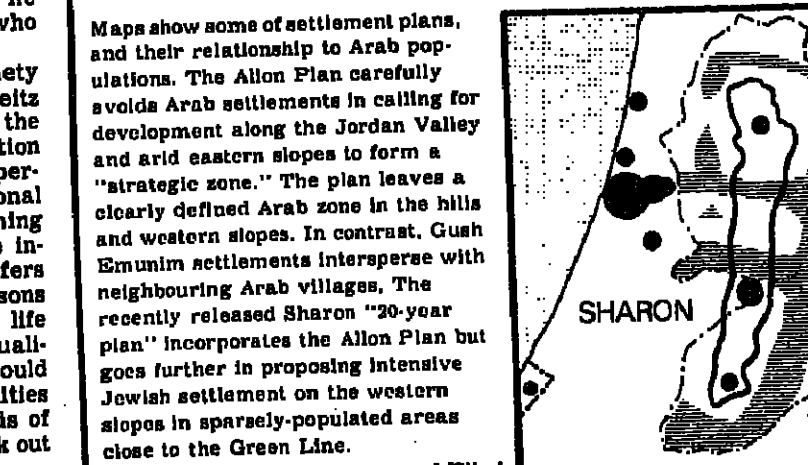
## Three plans for settlement



The Arab population of the West Bank is concentrated on the crest of the hills from Nablus to Hebron and, in lesser densities, along the western slopes.



Allon Plan: settlement in valley. Gush Emunim: in populated hills.



Sharon: eastern and western slopes.

Maps in the news: by Gonen and Kibel

NEW AGRICULTURAL techniques, new military realities and new social visions are revolutionizing the character of rural settlement, which has shaped this country and much of its leadership during the past half century.

Dr. Ra'anan Weitz is the prophet of this revolution. He is one of its major architects as well. "Rural settlement is at an historic turning point," says Weitz, who as head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency is one of the country's foremost authorities on the subject.

The founders of Zionist settlement policy 60 years ago realized "explicitly or otherwise," he says, that the border of the future Jewish state would be determined by the pattern of rural settlement. They conceived settlements as self-contained units dispersed so as to dominate as much space as possible. In this context, the settlements were referred to as "points" — *nekudot*.

Their significance was not just political but military. The settlements came to be seen as strongpoints in a static defence or as jumping off points for offensive operations, in any conflict to come.

## A NEW CONCEPT

Development of the industrial village, or *kafat*, represents a 'turning point' in the concept of settlement, Dr. Ra'anan Weitz, head of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, tells The Post's ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

Those concepts proved themselves in the War of Independence. The new state was to be shaped by the settlement pegs driven into the soil at places like Hania, on the Lebanese border, Tira, Zvi in the Beit She'an Valley and Yad Mordechai on the Gaza approaches. Militarily, the settlements played the key blocking role envisioned for them.

world. Today, the productivity of Israel's farmers is among the highest in the world — 5 per cent a year.

Socially — and this was the initial impetus of the Zionist programme — the object of rural settlement was to create a new Jew, a man of the soil, free of the mentality of the Diaspora. Here too a success of epic proportions has been achieved.

By the eve of the Six Day War close to 600 farming settlements had absorbed not only city dwellers from the West but tens of thousands of immigrants from Islamic countries with no agricultural skills and little education.

"In one generation," says Weitz of the latter, "a deep, amazing transformation took place. We achieved something deemed to be impossible." The bulk of these immigrant settlements now stand on their own feet economically, and a new Israel-bred generation is beginning to take over.

AS MAGNIFICENT as these successes have been, the past few years have brought new realities which require a totally new approach to rural settlement, says Weitz. Militarily, exposed settlements are more of a burden

than an asset when Israel's armies rely on highly mobile armoured forces. Politically, says Weitz, Israel cannot expect friends to support its claim to the territory just because it has built settlements on it. But settlements can buttress Israel's claim to territory which it can demonstrate to be vital to its security needs.

Instead of isolated *nekudot*, settlements are now built in clusters (*eshkolot*) which can sustain a high level of technical, cultural and social services.

Economically, the very success of Israeli farming had, until recently, seemed to preclude the need for any more agricultural settlements, since the growth in productivity was higher than the growth in local consumption. However, the development in the past five years of "super-specialized" farming and "controlled agriculture" involving glasshouses and other enclosed structures has opened what Weitz says are "possibilities no one ever dreamed of" in the growth of winter vegetables for the tables of Europe. The small amount of water and land needed to support a family at a high standard with this kind of farming would have seemed fantastic five years ago.



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مكذوب من الأصل

# A LINK IN THE GOLAN

ALMOST UNNOTICED amid all the noise and confusion attending the new Government's settlement plans — and those of Gush Ennuni — a new town, Katzin, has started taking shape in the centre of the Golan Heights.

The first 30 families moved into their homes, which are rising on the black soil and greyish basalt rock, on July 16. By the end of this month there should be 80 families on the site, and planners are confident that the 200 housing units slated for completion by the end of this year will also be occupied by then. The full plans for Katzin call for a town of 20,000.

That Katzin is not simply a temporary arrangement for a handful of short-term enthusiasts is attested to by the number of children among the new settlers. On September 1, the Katzin elementary school was inaugurated for grades one to six. Older children are being bussed daily to junior-high and high-school classes in Kibbutz Kfar Blum in the Hula Valley, half an hour's drive away.

The founding of the new town comes at a symbolic date: the 10th anniversary of the Israeli settling of the Golan Heights in the aftermath of the Six Day War. Katzin is thus a link in the continuing settlement of the Heights from which, 10 years ago, the Syrians threatened the settlements of the Hula Valley. (In the first two days of the Yom Kippur War, the Syrians reconquered parts of the area, but they soon lost them again.)

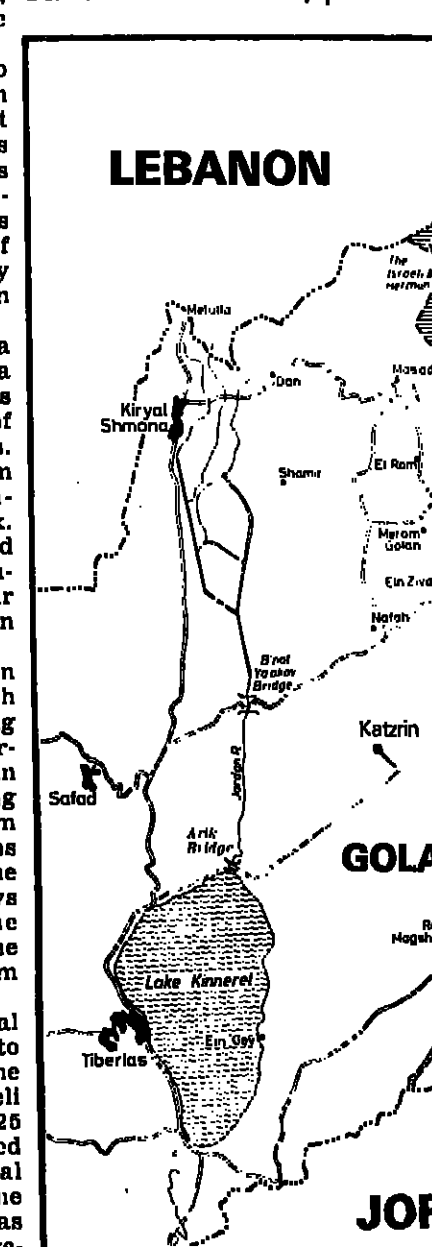
Katzin also forms a physical link between the settlements to the north and the south in the Golan. In the decade of Israeli presence on the Heights, 26 settlements have been established there, most of them agricultural kibbutzim and moshavim. The central area of the heights has remained empty, however, largely because of the topography, with its dearth of arable land and of water. The idea of locating the central town of the Golan at Katzin was that it should serve as a binding element between the two clusters of settlements.

THERE WAS quite a bit of foot-dragging by the previous governments and other settlement authorities when it came to establishing villages on the Golan. One's views as to whether the Golan should or should not be settled at all depend, of course, on one's position in the Israeli political spectrum. The Golan settlements account for less than 3,000 inhabitants, the result of 10 years of "intensive" settlement activities by governments which ostensibly favoured retaining the area in Israeli hands.

The story of Katzin is consistent with this reality. The decision to establish the town was taken by the government in November 1978, in the wake of the shock generated by the Syrian armoured breakthrough in the central Golan a month before.

Responsibility for the construction of Katzin was vested in the Housing Ministry. The fact that the minister, the late Avraham Ofar, was one of his party's more extreme doves could be the main reason why there was a two-year delay before any serious work began on the site. But, since 1976 the pace of activities has picked

up considerably, with much of the credit due to the Ministry's coordinator on the spot, Menahem Hait.



Hait, 47, is a Holocaust survivor from Rumania who came as an illegal immigrant aboard the Atzmaut and was interned in Cyprus on the eve of the establishment of the State. What he is now doing for Katzin he did previously for the building of Upper Nazareth and the central Galilee town of Carmiel.

The coordinating team's "offices" are located deep in what is to be the central air-raid shelter of the first of Katzin's neighbourhoods, which is now under construction. The town is 12 km. — as the crow flies — from the cease-fire lines with Syria.

The sheer magnitude of the financial and human investment planned for Katzin should serve more than words to make clear Israel's political intentions in regard to the Golan. Whatever flexibility is spoken of when it comes to possible territorial concessions in return for a full or partial agreement with Syria, it is not likely that any changes much deeper than cosmetic ones along the existing cease-fire lines will be made.

Whether the spanning new development town turns into a Carmiel or into a Ma'alot will depend not only on the vision of the planners and what they create, but on the people who come to settle. The most promising thing about the first 50 families to populate Katzin is that they are

written off after five years of continuous residence, and the remaining IL130,000 is offered on easy-term mortgage.

Each neighbourhood will have its own shopping section, 12-grade school and other institutions. It will also be attached to a central commercial and institutional area that will continue to grow, as a long central core, with the subsequent construction of additional neighbourhoods alongside it. A separate industrial park is being built beyond a green belt which will separate it from the residential areas.

One of the most attractive aspects of Katzin is the financial arrangement whereby the housing units may be purchased. A four-room "villa" with enough land for a lawn and a garden goes for IL243,000. The down payment is only IL50,000; as for the balance, IL63,000 is given as a standing loan which is to be

repaid after five years of continuous residence, and the remaining IL130,000 is offered on easy-term mortgage.

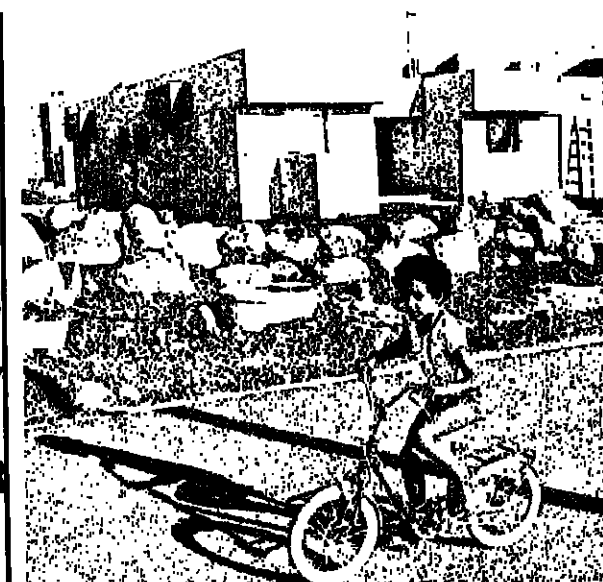
Apartment in the single-storey and multi-storey blocks cost proportionally less. The down payment for a three-room apartment is around IL12,000. However, most of the 50 families which moved in by the beginning of this month have preferred to rent an apartment — for IL220—380 a month — while the villas are being completed.

Such prices are possible because Katzin enjoys all the benefits granted to development areas of the highest category. The town's other advantages include a bracing upland climate, and fantastic views of the Jordan River and Lake Kinneret; and all this only an hour-and-a-half away from Haifa.

KATZIN, which is named after a Jewish town from the Mishnaic period, is also an archaeological site with the ruins of an ancient synagogue that attests to its origins.

Whether the spanning new development town turns into a Carmiel or into a Ma'alot will depend not only on the vision of the planners and what they create, but on the people who come to settle. The most promising thing about the first 50 families to populate Katzin is that they are

written off after five years of continuous residence, and the remaining IL130,000 is offered on easy-term mortgage.



(Rubinger)



nearly all established Israelis. The new settlers will have to adapt to the problems that attend any new beginning; but they will not have to struggle with the additional problems that confront new immigrants.

New immigrants will be accepted at a later stage, after the initial kinks have been ironed out. This is what was done in Arad, the most impressive of the development towns.

Menahem Hait explained that prospective settlers have to be approved by an admissions committee. The criteria on which decisions about prospective settlers are based concern mainly occupational questions — will the settler and his family stand a good chance of making a living in the early stages of development? — and social problems, such as not burdening a new town with welfare cases which it would not be able to handle.

The settlers range in age from late 20s to early 40s, although there is one couple pushing 60 and there are some singles. A cursory attempt to understand what motivated some of the founding fathers and mothers of Katzin elicited an embarrassing but refreshing emphasis on the link between personal and national goals.

Uzi and Dahlia, on whom we burst in unannounced at the end of his work day, represented this tendency. Uzi is an agronomist and his wife is an agricultural economist. They left Ashkelon, where they had worked in their respective fields after graduating from the Hebrew University, and came to Katzin "to fulfill a national need."

Obviously, such patriotic and pioneering ideals are much easier to fulfill when satisfying and remunerative work is available. Uzi joined the Jewish Agency Settlement Department in the area immediately upon arrival, and Dahlia is waiting for her baby to get a little bigger before she returns to her profession. Their aesthetically designed single-storey house makes it easier for them to settle down.

A NEW TOWN like Katzin offers a variety of challenges and dreams: building up and helping (or compelling?) the government to hold on to the Golan, starting afresh after a life that has possibly gone stale in the cities; getting in on the ground floor of a project that may well develop into something big; and simply enjoying the crystal clear air and the mountain views.

One of the flies in the ointment, however, is the lag between the pace of residential construction and the rate at which economic enterprises — which will provide jobs — are going up.

It is reasonable to expect the first 200 families to make an adequate living if they are willing to be flexible, changing occupations and adapting their professions to the realities of life in a border area. But further expansion will depend very much on whether the plans for industrial, commercial and tourist development materialize.

In the meantime, and until they do, there is much to be said for the exhilaration that comes from building a new life and a new town from scratch. □

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1977

THE JERUSALEM POST ROSH HASHANA MAGAZINE

PAGE ELEVEN



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The north-south road in Samaria, recently named "Land of Pursuit Road." During late 60's, many chases after terrorists took place in area. (Rubinger)

## DEFENCE WALL OR BARRIER TO PEACE?

ALL ISRAELI Governments have  
steadfastly refused to draw peace  
maps - on paper. On the ground,  
however, a very concrete map has  
been drawn - of 77 settlements  
beyond the 1967 lines. All Israeli  
Governments have asked for,  
proposed and insisted on  
negotiations without pre-  
conditions. Yet 77 pre-conditions  
have sprung up on the Golan  
Heights, in the Jordan Valley,  
around the Gaza Strip, on the  
waist of the Latrun bulge, and  
elsewhere.

Gradually - and, until the  
Likud came to power, quietly - a  
visible living definition of what  
Israel regards as her minimum  
defensible boundaries emerged.  
The unwritten and undeclared,  
but physically established pre-  
condition to any discussion of  
peace was that peace must be  
secured by boundaries which are  
also defensible in war. As Yigal  
Allon put it in his famous 1976 article  
in *Foreign Affairs*: "...Just as  
peace itself is one of the prime  
elements of national security, so,  
too, is the ability to defend oneself  
a prime guaranty for the  
maintenance of peace."

This dialectical definition of the  
conditions for peace always posed  
a question: Is a unilateral deter-  
mination, in advance, of what  
comprises a minimum defence  
capability in itself conducive to  
the initiation of progress towards  
peace or an obstacle to it? Yet the  
crucial element in the Allon con-  
ception always was the strict in-  
sistence on security requirements  
alone as a determinant of settle-  
ment policy. "...Defensible  
borders," wrote Allon, "are vital  
to Israel not out of any desire to  
annex territories per se...not out  
of any historical and ideological  
motivation. Israel can com-  
promise on territory but it cannot  
afford to do so on security. The en-  
tire rationale of defensible  
borders is strategic. This is also

the only rationale for the selective  
settlement policy that Israel is  
pursuing."

Official policy up to May 17 was  
guided by three considerations,  
defined by former minister  
without portfolio Israel Galili  
and chairman of the Ministerial  
Committee on Settlement in a re-  
cent conversation. The first was  
what could be presented to the  
U.S. and the rest of the world as  
strictly dictated by defence re-  
quirements, with the argument  
that "no friend of Israel can ask  
her to commit suicide." The se-  
cond was to avoid potential con-  
flict between the settlers and the  
established Arab population. Set-  
tlement was therefore to be  
restricted to peripheral lines and  
to areas of sparse Arab popula-  
tion. Third, settlement was guided  
by the hope, however remote, that  
the Arabs, too, might be brought  
to accept defence-oriented  
demands for boundary ad-  
justments while rejecting out of  
hand anything that signified "ex-  
pansionist" tendencies.

Even under the Alignment  
government, this purely defence-  
dictated attitude was battered by  
powerful trends in the Alignment  
itself, and more so by Gush  
Emunim. The result was settle-  
ments, including Kiryat Arba  
in Hebron and Kaddum in  
Samaria, which were established  
in response to precisely those  
"historical and ideological" am-  
bitions Allon sought to rule out.  
Still, they were exceptions and  
could be presented as such.

THE RISE of the Likud Govern-  
ment has upset this entire concep-  
tion. The crucial difference is that  
the Likud Government does not  
limit itself to the purely defence-  
oriented basis for settlement, es-  
pecially in Judea and Samaria.  
The latter, in Likud doctrine, are  
an integral part of Eretz Yisrael,  
in which settlement is a natural and

unalienable Jewish right. The ex-  
ercise of this right may or may not  
serve defence purposes, but does  
not depend on their existence.

Not so on the Golan Heights, in  
the Rafiah area, or on the coastal  
strip leading to Sharm e-Sheikh.  
These are not part of historical  
Eretz Yisrael; they are negotiable.  
Any settlement there depends, as  
in the Allon conception, on  
defence considerations.  
Thus we have, under the Likud,  
an "Allon-plus" policy. The first  
declarations and steps in that  
direction already have evoked a  
reaction from the U.S., far  
greater than anything that was  
heard while 77 settlements were  
being set up in 1967-1977. Clearly,  
the U.S. and Europe, not to speak  
of the Arabs, are highly sensitive  
to the difference between  
settlements establishing a  
political-demographic claim to  
defensible borders, and  
settlements which are meant to  
affirm the historical, national, or  
legal claim to Jewish sovereignty  
over Eretz Yisrael.

ISRAEL GALILI, the chief  
architect of the Allon Plan's im-  
plementation, is fully aware that a  
new and serious dilemma has  
been created for the Alignment, in  
its attitude towards future settle-  
ment beyond the green line. On  
one hand, if Alignment and its  
settlement movements (who  
represent the main real human  
reservoir for new settlements)  
fall into line with the Likud's  
policy by continuing to settle  
within the framework of the  
previous government, they will  
leave the Likud and Gush  
Emunim free to add their Greater  
Eretz Yisrael settlements. This  
would make the Alignment a tool  
of the Likud's settlement policy.  
On the other hand, any  
forbearance from new settle-  
ment would come up against  
strong internal opposition, and

would run counter to the entire  
"constructivist" tradition of  
Labour Zionism.

Galili is aware that the U.S.  
reaction to the Likud  
Government's declarations - so  
far, there has been little beyond  
verbiage - may be a curtain-  
raiser for a total rejection of all  
settlement beyond the 1967  
borders, implying a hardening of  
the demand that Israel retreat,  
nearly completely, to those lines.  
The defence argument, which  
Israel hoped was at least  
debatable with the U.S., has  
suddenly been cast aside and  
made secondary to claims of  
divine, historical, legal and  
political rights. The meaning and  
purpose of the entire settlement  
effort has thus become distorted.  
Galili's answer to the dilemma is  
typical of this past master of for-  
mulations. In a stand reminiscent  
of Ben-Gurion's World War II  
slogan - "fighting the Nazis as if  
there were no White Paper, and  
fighting the White Paper as if  
there were no Nazis" - Galili now  
says that the Alignment will op-  
pose the Likud's over-all policy,  
but will continue to implement  
that part of it which coincides with  
the Alignment's settlement  
policy.

THE ALIGNMENT'S settlement  
policy was always too little for the  
hawks and too much for the doves.  
But if not enthusiastically sup-  
ported, it was at least accepted  
with near unanimity. The rise to  
power of Menachem Begin has  
reopened the entire question of the  
settlement policy's significance -  
not only in Washington, but also in  
Israel. A unilateral pre-  
determination of "defensible  
boundaries" which, however  
vaguely, still left open the  
possibility that what had been es-  
tablished on the ground was not  
necessarily final - and this within  
the framework of a policy based

on advance co-ordination with the  
U.S. - is one thing. A policy which  
"absolves" the U.S. of supporting  
Israel's positions is another  
matter altogether. It calls into  
question the tenability of the en-  
tire settlement policy up to now.  
For what was considered  
"hawkish" so far, has, by com-  
parison with what Menachem  
Begin, Ariel Sharon and Hanan  
Porat want, become "dovish" in-  
deed.

Doves, however, come in a  
broad range of colours, from  
hawkish brown to snow-white.  
Given that not only the Arabs, but  
also the U.S. and the rest of the  
world, will never accept Cabinet  
Secretary Aryeh Naor's state-  
ment - that Israel cannot be  
deemed to annex that which is  
rightfully hers and that Jews can-  
not be barred from settling  
anywhere within their eternal,  
pre-ordained domain - what  
remains of any "dovish" alter-  
native? Is Mr. Begin not right in  
saying that the Allon Plan was no  
more accepted and acceptable  
than any other plan and that  
therefore the attempt to present it  
as "dovish" was meaningless? Is  
the alleged dovishness of the Allon  
Plan as much an obstacle to peace  
as the Sharon plan - or are they  
both irrelevant to the problem?  
Has the Allon Plan not, from the  
very beginning, been little more  
than a pacemaker for the Sharon  
settlement-policy? And if both are  
equally an obstacle to peace -  
what would a "real" dovish policy  
imply?

JUDGING BY WHAT such  
clearly-marked doves as Yossi  
Sarid, Yitzhak Ben-Aharon and  
Ra'anan Weiss have to say on the  
subject, as well as by what one  
can glean from Mapam's attitude  
(which also is far from uniform)  
as expressed by Victor Shentov,  
one must conclude that the Allon  
Plan, as a political programme  
and part of a possible peace-  
making process, is indeed dead. It  
will be absorbed into the Sharon  
plan; Alignment-affiliated settle-  
ment movements will serve as the  
latter's tool.

To see why this is so, one has to  
go back to the basic rationale of  
the settlement policy as such and  
to the reasons for its almost un-  
animous public acceptance. From  
its beginning, the settlement  
policy, as a *de facto* advance  
determination of Israel's  
minimum defence boundaries,  
made political sense only to the  
extent that American acquiescence  
in it could be expected. With the  
U.S. aligning itself with the Arabs  
on this subject, each additional  
settlement, anywhere, must  
become an additional obstacle to  
peace.

The Allon conception and the  
settlement policy which it ex-  
pressed were dominated by the  
visceral fear that no peace agree-  
ment with the Arabs would relieve  
Israel of the inherent danger of  
war. That fear is shared even by  
Shelli which, although opposed to  
settlements and prepared to give

(continued overleaf)





The egg next to this newly-hatched Bonelli's eagle chick is sterile — probably the result of secondary poisoning by pesticides. Read about the majestic Bonelli's eagle and the problems in its survival in Israel in the

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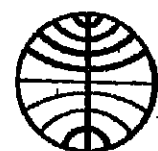
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(continued from page 13)

up practically all the occupied territories, still insists on demilitarization. The basic assumption of the Allon Plan was that peace, by whatever name it might be called, would in fact be no more than a cessation of hostilities. Israel's boundaries would, therefore, always have to be designed for the eventuality of war.

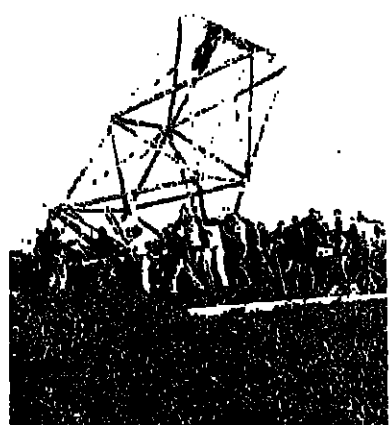
One can make a much stronger case for the fear of war, which dominates Israeli attitudes, than the case Prime Minister Begin has chosen to make in public. It is not the threat of guns which can shell "every man, woman and child" — as Begin has put it repeatedly — which is at issue. Shells, missiles and aerial bombing go both ways and are not decisive. It is the danger of a decisive ground attack that makes Israel's defence capability within the pre-1967 lines so precarious — a point Allon analyzed clearly in his *Foreign Affairs* article.

For anywhere along the pre-1967 boundaries, a surprise attack by enemy ground forces could cut Israel's lifelines. The opening passages of Moshe A. Gliboi's *Six Years, Six Days* describe the deliberations of the government on June 4, 1967, and show that the same dangers existed then.

Aharon Yariv, then chief of intelligence, told the Cabinet that a Syrian thrust could cut off Galilee, threaten Haifa, and deny Israel her water. Jordan could advance towards Netanya and sever the north-south link. Jerusalem and its corridor were under the threat of a pincer movement. Eilat and the entire southern Negev could be slashed off Israel by an Egyptian thrust north-eastwards, linking up with Jordan.

If the doves — in the Alignment and outside it — had understood the basic assumptions underlying the Allon Plan more clearly, they probably would have shown more than the half-hearted opposition to settlements beyond the green line which they put up. Unclear about their own purpose, faced by total Arab intransigence, relying on what seemed to be tacit U.S. acceptance of the policy, they have always been only vaguely unhappy with that policy. Thus, Mapam went along with settlements on the Golan Heights and in Pithat Rafiah, but opposed them in the Jordan Valley. So did Yossi Sarid, who argued for giving priority to settling Galilee.

The architects of the Allon Plan were, of course, aware that there is a trade-off between boundaries, military defensibility and political acceptability. They hoped to maximize the former. They admit that, in purely military terms, the settlements themselves not only contribute nothing to defence, they are an obstacle. The settlements predetermine the tactical lines of military movements, without impeding those of the enemy. They also represent a



Erection of tower-and-stockade settlement of Sha'ar Hagolan in late 1960's.

IN PRINCIPLE, little has changed since 1967. It has only become worse because of the vast escalation of arms and military technology. Look at what Arik Sharon's force accomplished on October 18-22, 1973. Without the advantage of surprise, while Israel's armour had already taken a severe beating, fighting against still unknown weapon systems, with the Air Force deployed elsewhere, while Israel was fighting on two fronts in a race against time, confronted by a well-equipped Egyptian Army which had short lines of communication, Arik Sharon's force managed, within six days, to conquer a 80 km. deep and 40 km. long sector on the west bank of the Suez Canal.

Reverse that picture. Imagine an Arab field commander, perhaps not quite as capable as Sharon, with a force not quite as motivated and well trained as the IDF, but with more favourable odds. A similar breakthrough — anywhere along the pre-1967 boundaries — could spell the end of Israel. This is the basis of the desire for security — security under any circumstances. In addition to any peace agreement, to any guarantees. Hence the near-unanimity which greets anything that seems to strengthen Israel's defence capability.

WHAT IS WRONG with that — if anything? First, territorial depth and topographical advantages are but one factor in the military equation. Above all, they have a political price. Peace and security are as much a matter of political circumstance as of military defence arrangements. The best-laid military plan becomes worthless if it is politically unfeasible.

commitment to defend or evacuate if hostilities break out. Both Israel Galili and Ra'anan Weitz say clearly that the settlements were never intended to contribute to defence. The days of 1948 and before, when Jewish settlements were self-contained strongposts and offensive bases, are long past.

The *raison d'être* of the settlements is to establish a political claim for the presence of military forces. Army units can be moved easily. The shifting of civilian settlements is much more complicated — as was evidenced in the 1974 interim agreement with Syria with respect to Merom Golan and Ein Zivan, near Kunettra. Moreover, while the confrontation of military forces along truce lines always carries the risk of armed clashes, civilian settlements minimize that danger.

In any negotiation, it can be claimed that a removal of the settlements is impossible from a domestic political viewpoint. The government of Israel has thus, consciously, tied its own hands. Yitzhak Ben-Aharon put it succinctly: anyone suggesting the removal of settlements would commit political suicide. It follows that the lines established by the settlements are not really negotiable.

SOME DOVES hesitatingly come up with suggestions that some settlements might remain under Arab sovereignty when the final boundary lines are drawn. But even Mapam's Victor Shemtov dismisses that with a smile of resignation — the idea that a Jew, in the fulfilment of the Zionist

dream of Jewish self-rule, will come under foreign domination, is a contradiction in terms.

The settlements, in short, are an attempt to secure boundaries which will serve for defence. They are predicated upon the permanence of the risk of war. They assume, implicitly, the need for what is at least a temporary static defence capability — an ability to contain a ground attack at least until the IDF can be fully mobilized. They ignore, or discount, vulnerability to sudden attack by both sides, the defence capability which lies in early warning systems and in preventive strikes, and the security that lies, up to a point, in the unwritten rules which determine what shall be regarded as a *casus belli* by the other side. They ignore that, in obedience to these rules, Jordan, up to 1967, generally refrained from introducing heavy armaments into the West Bank, and that Nasser was fully aware that troop concentrations in Sinai might be considered an invitation to war.

If the assumption is that peace is a process, that it is ultimately attainable, and that the defence needs and capability of Israel are as much a matter of political circumstances as of territorial depth, topography and strategic control, then the settlements appear as an obstacle to peace. Mapam — and some individual leaders in other parties — have always been aware of this. They have always been hesitant about settlements, particularly as the negotiating process acquired momentum.

Settlements in the Jordan Valley, in particular, are a challenge to Jordan. Because they physically separate Jordan from the West Bank, they invite a Palestinian state. In military terms, they do not in themselves ensure the demilitarization of the West Bank, for which other means are available, but constitute a commitment to defend the narrow tongue of settlements running down the valley.

THE RISE to power of the Likud now tends to polarize opinions. Doves who were prepared to go along with the Allon Plan as a calculated risk, on the assumption that American support or acquiescence might make it a negotiable position, now tend to become more dovish.

In any case, there can be no doubt that there is virtual unanimity on the need to ensure Israel's security. Even Shelli Lyvova Eliav, who opposes settlements beyond the 1967 lines and considers them unessential for Israel's defence, says quite clearly that the occupied territories must be demilitarized in any peace agreement and that the return of territories must be on a *quid pro quo* basis. In his latest book, *Israel's Ladder*, he says that if the Arabs will agree to full peace, they will get all the territories. If they give little, they will get little, and if they give nothing, they will receive nothing.

A dovish settlement policy would abandon the external political function which it sought to fulfil in the past decade. It would concentrate, instead, on the consolidation of Israel within the 1967 boundaries, on settling the Galilee and Negev, on creating a new type of social structure based on rural settlements, agricultural as well as industrial, instead of on urban conglomerations. A dovish policy would strive to redeem the People of Israel, not reclaim its historical lands — the moral right to which is a basic tenet even of Lyvova Eliav's conception. □

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מגזין מן האל



THE NAME ALONE provokes either anger or admiration. Few people — be they the 1,500 adults and children who live within the barbed-wire perimeter fence or outsiders looking in — are indifferent about Kiryat Arba.

Is it a fortress of nationalist zealots bent on displacing Arab neighbours from land they have settled for hundreds of years and re-claiming it on the basis of a 3,500-year-old Divine promise to Abraham? Or is it a closely knit community of self-sacrificing pioneers who emulate the Patriarch's ideals of hospitality and parenthood in their daily life? Neither description is quite accurate. The reality of Kiryat Arba is somewhere in between.

Its 600 dunams were a patch of rocky soil sprouting wild vegetation in 1905 when Rabbi Moshe Levinger, in a model for future independent settlement moves by Gush Emunim, led a band of 80 families to spend Pessah at the Park Hotel in nearby Hebron. Having coalesced into a group by word of mouth, newspaper advertisements and help from the Land of Israel Movement, they became permanent guests and opened a yeshiva and a kindergarten.

They had come, said the building, gossiped rabbi, to live where Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Leah were buried (the Bible passage on Sarah's burial says: "Kiryat Arba is Hebron," a quotation repeated in much of the town's publicity); where King David lived for seven years before establishing his rule in Jerusalem; and where, in 1929, Arab rioters murdered 67 Jews with the aim of eliminating Jewish settlement in the area.

Despite the strong opposition of Hebron's mayor at the time, Sheikh Mohammed Ali Ja'abari,

## ROOM AT KIRYAT ARBA

Kiryat Arba, at the edge of Hebron, has been at the focus of controversy almost constantly since its founding by squatters more than nine years ago. JUDY SIEGEL visited the town and found substantial optimism despite the unresolved problems.



With only one inadequate store serving Kiryat Arba, residents walk down to Hebron and shop in the cheaper Arab shuk.

the government allowed the settlers to move into the Tegarit police fortress overlooking Hebron. In May, 1970, the Knesset approved construction of the first 250 flats, and Levinger's followers moved in 18 months later in time for Rosh Hashana, 5732.

"FROM 1938, there were no Jews here, except one man who earned a living selling cheese, but he also left in 1948," recalls Moshe Mayevsky, who resigned his post

as head of the Ofakim local council in order to head the Kiryat Arba directorate in March, 1976. He brought his wife and eight children. "We felt that the vacuum had to be filled," he says. "We have lived in Eilat, Bnei Brak and Ofakim, but when we came to Kiryat Arba, we realized immediately that we had come home."

"Kiryat Arba," he continues, "is the urban settlement with the best human material in the state.

There are a great number of idealists here. Many gave up everything to live here."

However, there are about 80 Jerusalem families who had nothing and were sent to Kiryat Arba by the housing authorities. Disadvantaged and with many children, these people were given housing in the enclave. They are being absorbed gradually, but not without some headaches for the local social worker, Naomi Ra'anani. One resident, painter

Baruch Nachshon, says: "I heard the authorities sent us there as families to break up the settlement."

As evidenced by the lines of diapers fluttering in the breeze, most of the population consists of young families. There are an average of four children to a family, with both the religious and the secular parents proudly fulfilling the biblical commandment to "be fruitful and multiply." Singles have, until now, been unable to move in because of housing restrictions, but Mayevsky reports that they will soon be allowed to rent rooms. The only unmarried men are the 170 yeshiva students who learn in a pre-fab structure that will eventually be replaced by an impressive permanent Talmudical academy.

KIRYAT ARBA is one of the few places in the country where religious and secular residents live together without apparent friction over Shabbat observance. "It's hard to say what the ratio of religious to non-religious families is," notes Mayevsky. "Only about 10 per cent would drive on Shabbat. But I would say that 80 per cent are generally not observant."

None of the roads is barred by chains on the Sabbath. If there is any zealotry, adds the head of the directorate with a smile, "it is not over the issue of Shabbat but over Eretz Yisrael. If someone were to drive up to the yeshiva on the Sabbath and ask where someone lives, a yeshiva student would tell him and probably also say 'Shabbat Shalom.'"

Zippora Horovitz, a non-observant mother of five whose husband, Aharon, is Kiryat Arba's treasurer, confirms — as do others like her — that there is

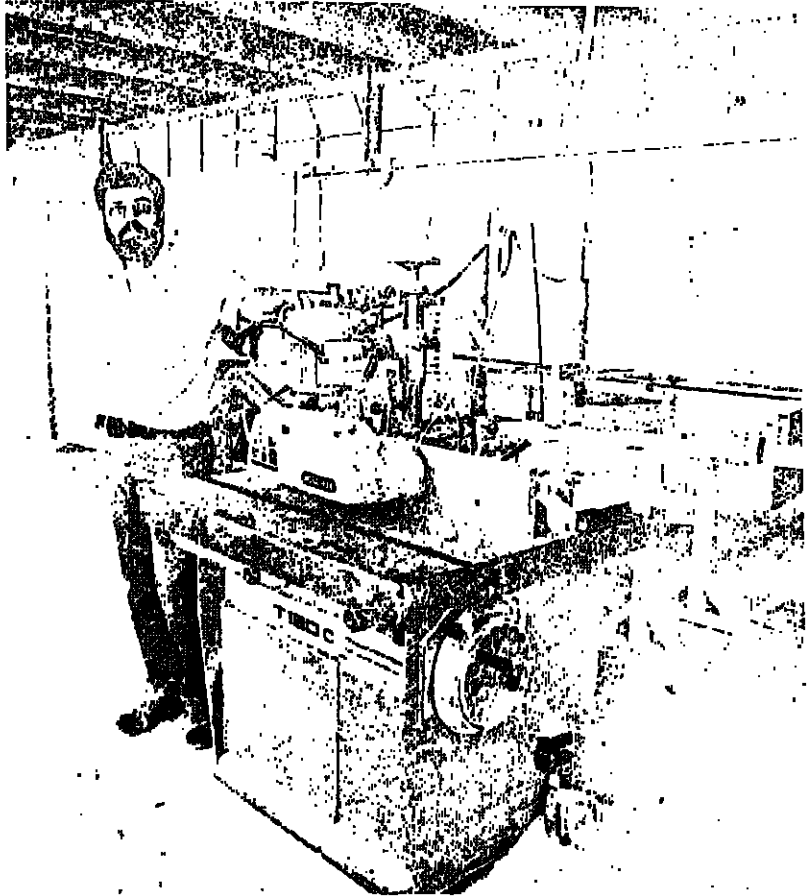
religious tolerance. "A secular person can live here just as easily as a religious one," she says. "Because of 'natural circumstances, not social pressure,' and most of her family have gradually come closer to Judaism since moving into the enclave from Beersheba a year ago. Religious feeling, perhaps, leads to religious sentiment."

All the residents describe relations with their neighbours in most idyllic terms. "We try to get along with each other even without asking for it," says a woman who is a few hundred yards short in an emergency, or a woman needs someone to take care of her children, they will get many of volunteers," says a former New York resident.

A public relations booklet circulated by the Kiryat Arba directorate describes the atmosphere in these rose-coloured scenes: "I saw a boy who found his pounds and tried to find their owner. I saw a woman looking for a family that needed a baby's cot because her baby had outgrown it. I saw a boy running daily to learn Torah. I saw a woman who is careful not to step on a man in a store selling her friend: 'I think you are before me in the line.' I saw a woman ask before Yom Kippur to ask all his friends forgiveness. I saw a place close Jerusalem. I saw Kiryat Arba. I saw my home."

DAILY LIFE is so pleasant, can why are over 200 flats empty?

The settlers and the officials point to the Egged bus cooperative, bureaucratic delays in the government ministries, the nature of previous governments to recognize Kiryat Arba as a fully-fledged urban centre and to



The carpentry shop, one of only 80 small industrial workshops in Kiryat Arba.

help it grow, the lack of minimum commercial outlets and the dearth of jobs.

The stone-faced, two- to four-storey buildings of three- and four-room flats are handsome, and separated by thriving gardens. They resemble some of the new apartments in East Talpiot, in Jerusalem, just 35 kilometres to the northwest. Monthly rents in Kiryat Arba range from IL300 to IL400; an apartment may cost up to IL200,000, with good mortgage

terms. Eight hundred and eighty-seven flats are either standing or under construction. Three hundred are occupied by families and another 60 are used by offices for the directorate, the social welfare authorities, Kupat Holim and the fire station.

Mayevsky concedes that the demand for flats has not been overwhelming, but asserts that 12 families who have been assigned apartments are waiting to get their keys while housing

authorities sort out their paperwork. Problems of land ownership, since it is administered territory, also deter buyers.

Egged buses — or the lack of them — remain one of the residents' major gripes. After years of complaining, the directorate managed to win approval for eight buses to Jerusalem and back daily. But residents say they are not enough to serve the Kiryat Arba-Gush Etzion area.

"I usually have to stand all the way," grumbles Mrs. Sara Nachshon, wife of the painter. "Sometimes people feel sorry for me when they see me carrying a sick child and give me their seat." Residents shell out IL10 for a one-way trip to the capital, which seems expensive when one considers the size of their families and the fact that they need to travel the route frequently.

"We are negotiating with an Arab bus company that charges IL5 for the same ride," says Mayevsky.

Housewives accustomed to the luxury of department store shopping are shocked when they discover that Kiryat Arba has only one shop, a general store that sells food, newspapers and other essential items. The women complain of poor service, prices that equal those in Jerusalem's expensive establishments, and inadequate supplies.

"I can't even buy a button for a dress in Kiryat Arba," complains Mrs. Nachshon. "I have to go to Jerusalem for that."

For large weekly purchases, Kiryat Arba residents prefer to go to the souk, in Hebron, a 30-minute walk away. "I wouldn't go alone," Mrs. Horovitz notes. "But it's all right going in a group. I've gotten used to the Arabs."

Even if Kiryat Arba's transpor-

tation and shopping problems were solved overnight, it would still not be an independent and viable town. "We need jobs," states Mayevsky emphatically.

About 80 residents work in the town's 20 workshops, which include carpentry, floor-tile, metalwork and textile enterprises. But they are outnumbered by the 91 Arabs from Hebron who work with them.

There is no shortage of Jewish staff in the various community institutions and services. While 168 Jews work at the Kupat Holim clinic, the post office, the yeshiva, the Amidar office, the community centre and the schools and kindergartens, only four Arabs work in such jobs. Arabs far outnumber Jews in the building trades (134 to 25), and very young Arabs may be seen emptying trash from the kirya's brightly-coloured outdoor wastebaskets.

NINETY residents travel to Jerusalem to work. The trip takes 40 minutes by car and over an hour by bus. A few, like Mrs. Horovitz, travel greater distances. Since there is no high school in the kirya, although there are six kindergartens and two elementary schools (one State religious and one State secular), she goes twice a week to her former school in Beersheba.

"We have a plan for development," says Mayevsky, unrolling a pink-coloured architectural drawing representing 40 dunams covered with a synagogue, two swimming pools, a country club, a library and a biblical garden.

"It hasn't been approved by anyone yet, but we have hope."

Mayevsky has sent memoranda to ministers in the Begin Government, asking them for support.

(Continued overleaf)

FOR NEARLY a quarter of a century the "settlement of the Galilee" has been a priority for every Israeli government. Since 1964, a total of 14 plans have been drawn up. But the ultimate target, of a solid Jewish majority in a newly-flourishing Galilee, has not yet been realised.

Today, the Galilee population totals half a million, of which 51.5 per cent are Jews, the remainder, Moslem and Christian Arabs, Druze, Circassians and Beduin. During the past year, more Jews have moved out of than into the region, emphasising still further the gradual change in the Jewish-Arab balance resulting from the greater natural increase of the Arabs.

In 1976, the Rabin Government decided that the settlement of the Galilee was as vital a national task, and created a special post of "Co-ordinator of Government Activities in the Galilee" in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to give a new impetus to the drive. The first incumbent, Yitzhak Pundak, resigned after a few months because of differences of opinion with the minister, Haim-Bar-Lev, and because he felt that he couldn't get things done. He was replaced by Reuven David, who resigned when the Likud Government took over.

The new man in Upper Nazareth, where the three-man "Co-ordination Bureau" is located, is Haim Haham, an expert in industrial management, seconded to the job from Israel Aircraft Industries, where he holds a senior executive position. As well as acting as assistant on development areas to the new minister, Yigael Hurvitz, he is

## MAKING GALILEE GROW

A new government in power has meant a new man in charge of the perennial problem of settling the Galilee. YA'ACOV FRIEDLER has been hearing from Haim Haham, the latest incumbent of a tricky post, how he intends to tackle the job.



Haim Haham seems to be in a pensive mood as he sits in his upper Nazareth office.

(Judah Passow)

now described as being "in charge of" rather than "co-ordinator of" government activities in the Galilee.

Haham, 40, is married and has three children. He immigrated from Rumania in 1950 and for many years lived in Dimona. He now makes his home in Yahud and knows the problems of development towns from the inside. He studied political science and

Islamic culture at the Hebrew University, and later industrial engineering at a Technion evening course. He holds the rank of seven (captain) in the reserves.

EXTRAORDINARY good work has been done in the Galilee and giant efforts have been made to further the objective of settlement," Haham told The Jerusalem Post in a special inter-

view. "But if the result is only half a million residents, it is clear that the whole concept must be changed."

He considers the situation "unconventional" and stresses that in an unconventional situation, unconventional means must be employed. I have no criticism of my predecessors, but perhaps what may have been satisfactory in the past is no longer satisfac-

tory now," he said. First of all ways must be found for the immediate reversal of the negative growth trend. This can no longer be done by dumping truckloads of immigrants into the Galilee, straight from the ports. "Other ways must be found, and I hope to find them," said Haham.

He believes that time is of the essence, and fears that "whatever we fail to achieve now, others will do," a clear reference to the unfavourable population trend. "If we are unable to effect a basic change, we might as well save our energy. I for one am sure we can do it. I've discussed the Galilee with every minister in the new Government, and found them all extraordinarily receptive on the matter."

Haham intends to tackle the problem right away with a concerted effort to stop people leaving the Galilee. He believes this can be done by improving the quality of life there, and that once people decide to stay because life is good, they themselves will attract more settlers.

"I don't believe in looking to the government as a saviour. The government can assist, encourage, perhaps initiate, but it is only people who will attract people," is his philosophy.

IT IS THE GOVERNMENT'S task, however, to prepare the infrastructure.

"We must improve roads and transportation, health and education services," said Haham. "Something else in urgent need of improvement is the telephone service. 'There are too few phones, the lines are overloaded and we pay inter-urban rates for calls between places no farther apart

than localities within the Greater Tel Aviv area."

Haham dismissed as "unrealistic" the most recent plan (until his own is ready) which foresees an Israel of five million inhabitants by 1992, with one million of them living in a 60 per cent Jewish Galilee. The only part of the plan he agrees with is that investment in the Galilee effort must be raised to between IL25 and IL25.5 annually.

"Anybody who professes to be able to increase the Galilee population by several hundred thousand within a few years is misleading," he said. "To do that we would need a monthly immigration rate greater than the present annual rate. That's not a realistic expectation, and I intend to confine myself to realities."

Haham is well attuned to the new Government's economic theories. Private enterprise must establish the plants and businesses that will provide the jobs for the people of Galilee, Jews and Arabs; the Government will provide the infrastructure.

He emphasized that the Arabs stand to gain no less than the Jews from the settlement programme. "One third of the workers in the new plants and tourism enterprises will be Arabs," he said.

HAHAM, who spent three years in Canada as an emissary for the World Zionist Organization's Youth and Hehalutz Department, is a great believer in American Jewish enterprise.

"I don't believe in selling 'the Galilee' to young Jews there. But I do believe that if we offer them well-planned specific projects, we can attract immigrants to come



Housing on the hillsides, with undeveloped Galilee hills in the background.

and carry them out.

"Indeed once we have a number of projects planned, I shall suggest offering interested people return tickets, so that they can come and see for themselves before deciding to immigrate."

He intends to start a comprehensive promotion drive in the U.S. shortly. Meanwhile, he is prepared to answer, personally and promptly, any enquiries ad-

ressed to the adviser on development areas, at the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Tourism in Jerusalem.

Haham also intends shortly to convene a meeting of Galilee mayors and local council heads in order to encourage them to initiate investments in their towns and villages.

"The local leaders should take the initiative and stop looking to

the government to do everything for them," he said.

He is convinced that "relatively" there will be no shortage of money for Galilee development.

"One third of all government development funds are to be diverted to the Galilee. That is already a hard and fast government decision. We shall therefore be less short of money than of vision and enthusiasm." These, he hopes to stimulate.

THE NEW MAN in charge of the Galilee frankly admits that he is still too much of a novice to say whether development should tend towards industry or tourism, but he "feels" that tourism should be preferred. It would avoid problems of industrial pollution and keep unspoiled an historic area that is indeed a tourism "natural." Virtually every stone has a story to tell to people of all faiths, the landscapes are breathtaking and the climate is superb.

Haham has set as his immediate target the reversal of the negative growth trend within a year. For a start, the government has already put a stop to the construction of box-like, 45 square metre flats, "because nobody will live in them." Those already built are being joined together to make bigger apartments. From next year, prospective settlers will be offered leases with a three-year option to buy. The rent going towards purchase price.

At the same time, he is pushing the incentive idea of lower taxes in those areas where settlers are most needed. This should make it worth while for skilled workers to move from the centre of the coun-

try to the Galilee, if only for the financial benefit. The incentive would be phased out as the place establishes itself.

During the past 15 years, the two big successes of Galilee settlement have been the new towns, Upper Nazareth and Carmiel, which were literally cut into mountains that had been bare rock for centuries. Both towns have also proved a great boon to the neighbouring Arab population, providing hundreds of well-paid jobs.

Looking ahead, there is neither enough land nor water for many more exclusively farming settlements. The solution is urban industrial and service centres, coupled with mixed farming-industrial settlements.

Plans are already being carried out on these lines, with industrial centres going up in the Tefen, Segev and Tura'an hill areas. Running down the spine of the Galilee, they will provide a continuous link right through the region, from north to south.

ON MARCH 31, 1976, the bloody "Land Day" riots were staged by some of the Arabs of the Galilee as a protest against the big expropriation plans that had earlier been published by the Lands Authority. The publicity was certainly ill-advised, for little land was in fact expropriated. Not much has been heard of the plans since.

However, unofficial sources say that since then there has been "tremendous" Arab building activity in the Galilee, mostly unlicensed and therefore illegal. At the same time certain Arabs are reported to have been busy buying

(Continued overleaf)



## KIRYAT ARBA

(Continued from previous page)

and is eagerly awaiting favourable answers.

"The air here," he sighs, "is clearer than in Arad, the view is magnificent, and the altitude is as high as Safad's. We're close to Jerusalem and not far from the Dead Sea. If we only had a hotel, we could become a great tourist centre."

In 1973, potential investors were given a government guarantee for a IL2m. loan to build a hotel, but nothing has come of it. The residents also dream of having an absorption centre to attract new immigrants.

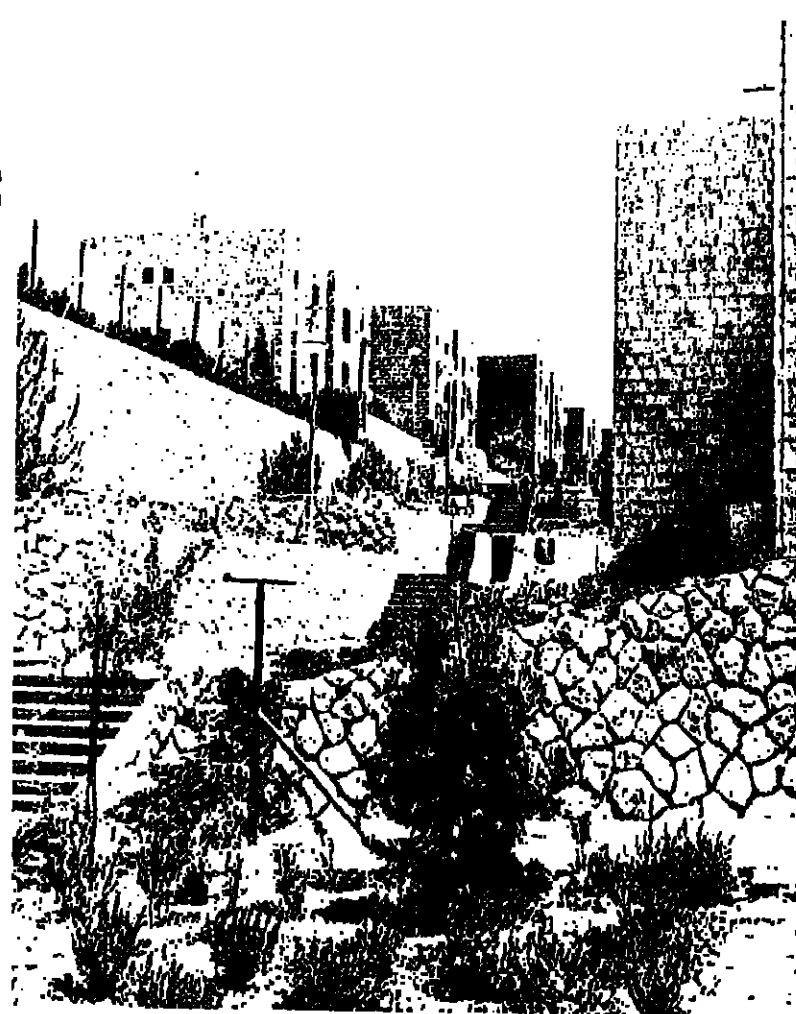
A regional hospital to serve both Arabs and Jews is another dream. "If we can't get together yet on politics, maybe we can cooperate when it comes to medicine," Mayevsky suggests.

Mayevsky says that Prime Minister Begin will visit Kiryat Arba soon (he doesn't give a date), and will thus become the first premier to do so. "I'll explain to him that we must become a town and not just a collection of apartment buildings."

A POPULATION of 30,000 is the minimum needed for independence, although it would inevitably reduce some of the small neighbourhood charm and closeness that exists today. Other residents suggest that Kiryat Arba must grow to 100,000 settlers if it is to thrive.

"If the government were really interested in settling places like this," continues Mayevsky, "it must cut tax benefits in towns on the Mediterranean coast and concentrate them here."

As it is, however, the residents of Kiryat Arba are exempt from



The stone buildings make Kiryat Arba look like one of Jerusalem's suburbs.

income tax, as are the Arab residents of the administered territories. Local taxes are minimal, with flat-dwellers paying IL1 per metre a year.

"We want to pay taxes," maintains Itamar Schnelweiss, a cheerful metalworker in blue work-clothes, during a short lunch

break. "If we are taxed like every other Israeli citizen, we'll have the same privileges and rights they do. I don't like being second class. When I start paying taxes I can yell."

Schnelweiss points to a hill beyond his window, the all of which is covered with some of the

300 species of cacti he raises as a hobby.

"Do you see those villas?" he asks. "The Arabs are building them as a belt around Kiryat Arba, illegal construction, to prevent us from growing."

His neighbour, Baruch Nachshon — known as one of the most militant on the issue of free settlement in Hebron — adds with irony: "I admire the Arabs. They are the ones who do the real, hard Zionist work. They build. They have been constructing a mosque nearby, working on just the first storey for over a year. There is nothing like it in intricacy except in India or Pakistan. The Arabs are very clever. They know Jews won't build near it, and that's what they want."

Nachshon's stand on settlement is as bold and clear as his paintings. "I see my future in Hebron, whether the Arabs are there or not," he says quietly, smoothing his large, loose-crocheted skull cap. "I'd move there tomorrow if I could. Unfortunately, it is illegal for a Jew to stay for more than 28 hours in Hebron. An American who rented a room in an Arab house was ordered out by the Israeli authorities."

One of Nachshon's children, Shneur Hebron, was the first baby to be born in the renewed Jewish settlement in the area, and when Nachshon and his wife insisted that the brit mila be performed in the Cave of the Patriarchs, Nachshon was arrested and fingerprinted by the police. When another of his 11 offspring died suddenly in his crib, he recalls, 200 soldiers were sent in command cars to prevent burial at the old Jewish cemetery in Hebron. Nevertheless, the funeral was held there.

His soft-spoken wife is even more steadfast than he when it comes to the cave. Indignant that

a single Arab worshipper in the "Ismail Hall" of the cave was preventing 500 Jews from praying there as well, she sat down near the Patriarch's tomb and recited Psalms for her deceased baby as soldiers looked on in amazement. She suggested that they join her in prayer. "It can't hurt," she said. The Nachshon family support the tactics of Rabbi Levinger, who spurns interviews after the massive publicity of his trial before a military tribunal last year, following the Arab-Jewish clashes in the Cave of the Patriarchs. "I do not intend to push Arabs out of Hebron, but I want to be allowed to live there as well," insists the artist.

LEVINGER is a respected counsellor to the directorate, says Mayevsky, and a spiritual leader and teacher at the yeshiva.

"Rabbi Levinger is a great man," notes Mrs. Horovitz, who adds: "It is too early for me to decide if I want to live in Hebron. I disagree with some of the things he has done. He has made mistakes on the way. But if he hadn't brought those 30 families here, none of this would be standing."

Kiryat Arba has sent some of its sons to settle elsewhere, often in the ranks of Gush Emunim. Former kirya residents have moved to Alon Moreh, the Golan Heights and Yattir, south of Mt. Hebron on the way to Beersheba, which was populated by hundreds of Jews after the destruction of the Second Temple.

Asked how Kiryat Arba, whose main problem is underpopulation, can afford to give up settlers, Mayevsky replies: "We have become a mother of settlements. True, a mother misses her children when they go away, but she never does lose her children." □

## GALILEE

(Continued from previous page)

up small parcels of land from individual Arab owners, in order to establish large tracts under single ownership.

According to the unofficial sources, the purpose is to "establish facts" both by putting up as many buildings as possible and by making it harder for the authorities to buy land for development purposes. The sources claim that these efforts are carefully planned, and even financed, by hostile circles in Arab countries. It is difficult, if not impossible, to verify these charges, though the feverish building activity by the Galilee Arabs is plain for all to see.

Asked for his comment on the matter, Haham said he was not well enough informed to be able to make any.

The spin-off from the big development drive he envisages will automatically benefit all Arab villages and towns in the Galilee too, he noted, providing them with better roads, services and job opportunities. The Government will certainly encourage private Arab enterprise for industrial and tourism development. He noted that all the Druze villages have already asked for industrialization aid.



With an aide, Haham examines map of proposal for settlement.

IN NAZARETH itself they say that the town is beginning to come up against the problem of "negative growth." A number of local businessmen and entrepreneurs, who got rich quickly after 1967, have already

emigrated to the U.S. and Canada or are contemplating doing so.

"Nazareth has become too small for us," said one prosperous merchant. "The town is physically small, and even smaller mentally. We're plagued by petty little

provincial jealousies, and anyway Nazareth is just a stick-in-the-mud place. Some of my friends have already made the move, and they are doing even better in America than they did here, and in greater comfort." He himself

While such a science town would not be a polluting agent, Haham firmly opposes the proposal for a "Rose Garden City" near Ma'alot put forward by industrialist and

was thinking of emigration too. DMC Knesset member Stef Wertheimer.

"I am not opposed to the idea, but to creating another municipal entity just outside Ma'alot. If Israel, Nazareth is still prospering. Families are large, with at least two or three sons bringing wages into every home, in addition to the monthly child-support cheques that come in.

"We need less money than Jewish families," a Nazarene explained. "We spend less and indeed have fewer opportunities to spend here. So most of our income is saved. We spend only when one of our sons is ready to marry; then everybody chips in to help him build a home."

This explained the big spurt in Arab building, he insisted. "If you want to build a house, we look at it as though you're starting a new dynasty. Even distant relatives are ready to put up some money for you."

BEYOND THE PLANS for industry and tourism, at the back of Haham's mind is also the idea of a "science town" on the Russian Novosibirsk model. Immigrant scientists would dream up new products and processes, intensive in sophistication rather than raw materials, which would be ideally suited to Galilee. One such group of Russian immigrants is already active in the Golan, and Haham hopes he will be able to start something similar in the Galilee, perhaps matching Russian and American immigrants and their brains.

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How do the Galilee Arabs feel about his vigorous plans? The vociferous minority is opposed to them. But as long as they don't include large-scale land expropriations, the majority appear to be ready to go along with them. Carmiel and Upper Nazareth have proved that development is beneficial to all. As one Nazarene conceded, "We've never had it so good."

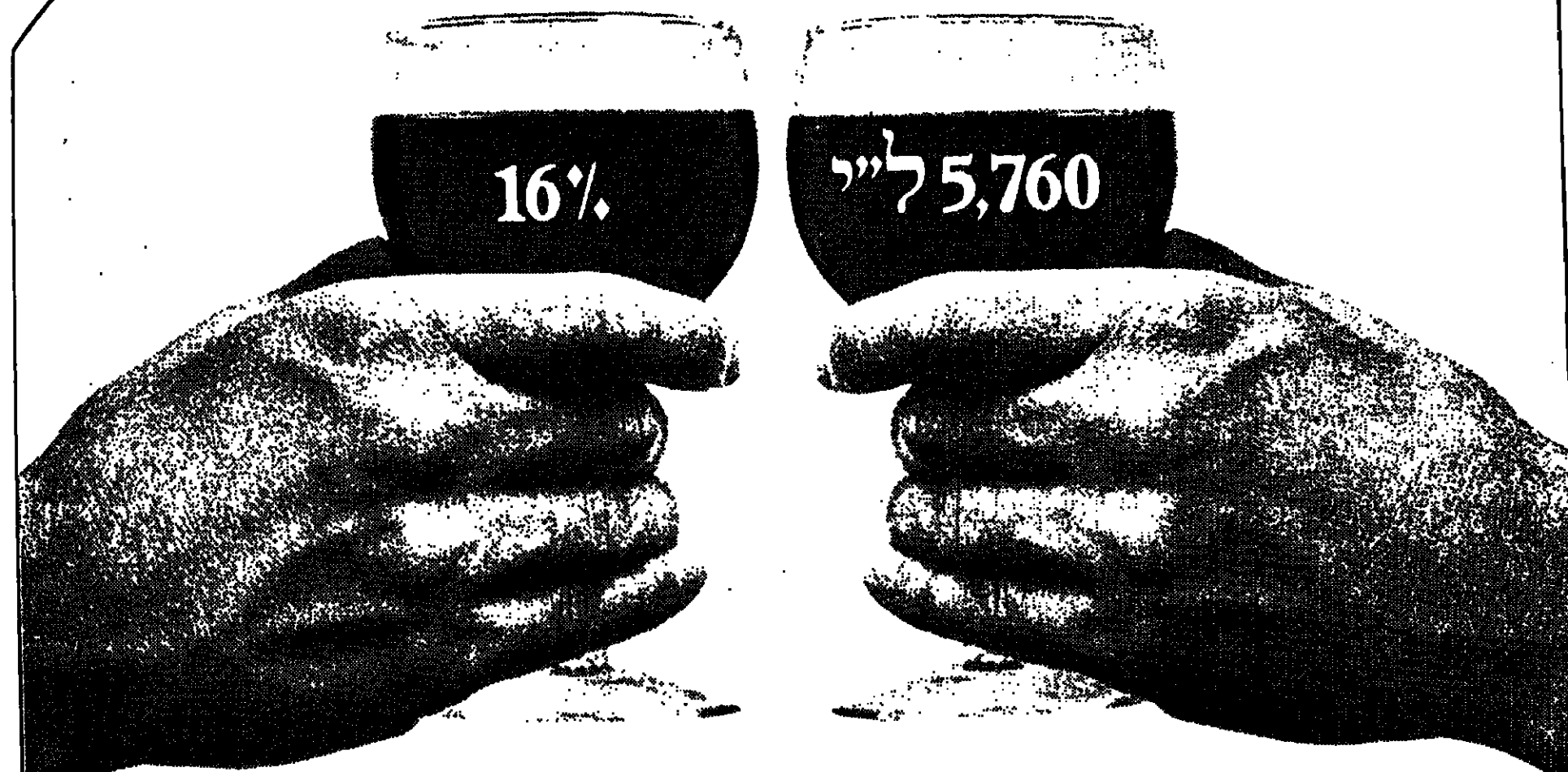
On the other hand, to a man, they are still smarting from the presence in Upper Galilee of District Representative Yisrael Koenig, author of the controversial "Koenig Memorandum," which advocated active steps to keep down the Arab population-growth.

"Koenig must go to save our wounded pride," said an Arab of moderate views. "I can understand that the previous Government was unable to dismiss one of its senior employees, and thus lose face. But the new Government can find a million reasons for removing him to another post. Let them bring somebody worse than Koenig, but at least our dignity will be saved."

As to Jewish development, he was all for it. His store numbered very many Jews among its clientele. "And who am I to object to getting more customers," he asked. □

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Begin and Sharon, with sefer tora at Camp Kaddum after the Likud election victory. On that visit, Begin said there would be many more Eilon Morehs.

# VISIONS, PLANS AND REALITIES

Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon has been putting forward ambitious plans for Jewish settlement in the territories. YOSEF GOELL considers them in the light of prospects for peace with the Arabs, relations with the U.S., and Sharon's vision of the Israel of the future.

HOW SERIOUS is all the talk about new settlements across the hypothetical green line which separates pre-1967 Israel from the territories it took over in the wake of the Six Day War? The question is apposite, for it would seem that Israel's settlement plans — and actions — have come to dominate the view taken of Israel by foreign chanceries, and by foreign media and the public opinion they shape, ever since the advent to power of the Begin Government over three months ago.

Any attempt to assess what is happening in this field is confusing. One finds oneself in a morass of differing statements of intent; of much talk and little if any action, of uneasiness about plans being concocted behind the scenes. Consider the following:

□ Mr. Begin's first act following his electoral victory was to appear at the Gush Emunim settlement of Eilon Moreh at Kaddum to promise that there would be many more Eilon Morehs.

□ Shortly thereafter, Gush Emunim announced that by September 1 they would have people settled in 12 more sites in Samaria and Judea. They were only awaiting the go-ahead sign from the new and favourably inclined Begin Government.

□ On September 1, the Gush Emunim leaders, mindful of the date, held a press conference at which they expressed disappointment at the government's failure to implement these settlement plans and half promised, half

threatened, that they were determined to have them in place "by the end of the summer." This deadline has since been interpreted to mean the intermediate days of Succot.

□ Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, who heads the joint Government-Jewish Agency Settlement Committee, subsequently declared that Gush Emunim and the government were in agreement on settlement policy and that there would be no confrontation between them. "They have been told, and fully understand, that settlements will be established only with specific government approval," Mr. Sharon told *The Post* in an interview published last Friday.

The question of timing is up to the government, Mr. Sharon emphasized. When pressed, he allowed that a substantial number of new settlements could be expected to be set up within the next six months. He would not be pinned down to anything more specific than that.

□ Hanan Porat, the head of Gush Emunim's settlement committee, in a description of a typical week's activities published in *Ha'aretz* 10 days ago, wrote:

"The Cabinet Secretary invited us to consider jointly how best to explain to the world the profound meaning that *hityashvut* (settlement) has for us. The conversation was conducted in a friendly atmosphere... In the evening we met with the Prime Minister... Several ideas were broached as to how best to advance the cause of

*hityashvut*, ideas which it would be best to keep secret... I believe that a deep feeling of friendship has been established between us and Mr. Begin."

□ As regards action, the Begin Government, in its two-and-a-half months of office, has "legalized" three settlements established in Samaria under the Labour Government, and announced its intention of going ahead with plans made by that government for an additional three settlements in Judea and Samaria.

## IS IT SERIOUS?

There are at least three contexts in which this question should be considered: the assumed effect of settlement plans and actions in the territories on the prospects for peace between Israel and the Arabs; their effect on Israel's relations with the U.S. in the immediate future; and their relationship to the internal demographic, social, economic and political realities of Israel today and their impact on Israel's vision of itself in the future.

Will further Israeli settlement across the green line prove pre-judicial, indeed catastrophic, to the prospects for an Arab-Israeli peace?

To be perfectly objective about it, no one really knows. The diametrically opposed opinions expressed on this question are actually something between sober assessments and wild guesses, both dependent on opinion-holder's perception and interpretation of the causes and the

present state of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

To those who believe, as parts of the American political community and media seem to, that leading elements of the Arab world are at last prepared to accept Israel, and that peace is around the corner if only the right formula can be found, the obvious answer is yes, settlement on the West Bank would spell *Amis* to such hopes.

Neither the present government, nor the Labour Governments since 1967, nor the overwhelming Israeli consensus, has ever accepted anything that comes close to such an interpretation of the state of the Arab-Israeli dispute. Arab hostility is seen in terms of total opposition to the existence of Israel, regardless of Israel's size. Given this view, it is difficult to see why Israeli expansion into Judea and Samaria should prejudice the prospects for peace any more than does the continued retention of Haifa, Tiberias or Beersheba.

TO BE SURE, there are deep differences between moderate "doves" and the Greater Israel "hawks" identified with the core of the present Likud-NRP Government on the settlement issue. But they are less over the assumed effect of settlement on the prospects for peace than over the question of absorbing or handling the million-plus Arab population that would accrue with the retention of the territories.

The "dovish" attitude is that the forced incorporation of the 1.6 m. Palestinian Arabs into an Israel of 3m. Jews would have catastrophic

consequences for the nature of the society and polity that would constitute such an Israel; that the very Jewishness and the democratic character of the state would be irreparably compromised.

The "hawkish" reply is that even the doves are opposed, for security reasons, to returning the territories today. Given this tacit acquiescence in continued Israeli control, a crucial question is, who is to fill the void that exists on the West Bank? For the generally unknown fact is that a good part of the geographical area known as Judea and Samaria, or the West Bank, is either empty of population or very sparsely populated.

The Labour Government's Allon Plan was predicated on the proposition that the unpopulated Jordan Rift Valley, and the eastern slopes leading down to it from the heavily-populated spine of Samaria, would be incorporated into Israel, thus combining security advantages with those of annexing land without Arabs.

The Likud's Sharon is now seeking to expand the application of that approach. He argues that parts of the western slopes of Samaria are also thinly populated, and are even more crucial to Israel's security than the Rift Valley.

The Likud Government is carrying on with its predecessor's policy of "thickening" the Jerusalem corridor and urbanization of agricultural and urban settlements. These will be connected by a new road to be built through from Beit Horon, slightly

north of Latrun, to the Atarot industrial area north of Jerusalem, and then down to Ma'ale Adumim. Both the Atarot and the Ma'ale Adumim projects were part of the Labour Government's Allon Plan concept.

It is interesting and important to note that Ariel Sharon is as emphatic as the Labour Alignment ever was about not pushing Israeli settlements into the heartland of the heavily populated mountain spine of Samaria. What is at issue, however, is the ultimate fate of the Arabs there.

The moderates who support retention of the territories for security reasons see Israel as keeping the Arab areas in trust for eventual settlement, no matter how long delayed, in which this Arab heartland would be joined with a Palestinian Jordan. The Greater Israel hawks think of eventual annexation, when international politics permit.

There is also an unarticulated hope that significant parts of this Arab population that will find itself a minority in a Jewish state will, somehow, fade away.

BUT WHAT of the very immediate and very insistent American opposition? There is good reason to believe that this will be the most decisive factor in regard to the actual implementation of settlement plans in the immediate future.

Sharon speaks of this opposition as a passing phenomenon. By this he means the seven remaining years of the Carter Administration. But of course, no one can prophesy whether the Carter Administration will persist in this opposition throughout its term (or parts of it), or what will be the attitude of a post-Carter administration.

Ariel Sharon's statement, however, is a good indication of the sensitive the present government is to American policies on this matter.

This impression is buttressed by the passage quoted above from Hanan Porat's article regarding the government's concern about "explaining to the world the profound meaning" of *hityashvut*. Sharon's statement that new settlements would be established within six months, would seem to be based on expectations of the picking of the Geneva bubble by then, without Israel's being blamed by the Americans for the demise of their hopes for a solution in 1977, and of a subsequent mellowing of American attitudes.

In this connection, Sharon's argument that Israeli settlement in Judea and Samaria actually works in favour of peace is interesting. It is, of course, open to the charge of being crass propaganda. But if that is what it is, it comes to counter the equally propagandist thesis that settlement is prejudicial to a peace that is within reach.

An important element in the American equation that should not be overlooked is that of Gush Emunim. The major result of Gush activities, from Sebastia through Kaddum to its present plans for 12 settlements, has been to arouse foreign opposition.

There would seem to be much truth in the argument that the international publicity that has attended the Gush Emunim expansion, such as their egregious marches through Arab villages in Samaria, has been the main factor behind the strengthening of the view abroad that settlements spell an end to peace hopes.

Some Likud leaders admit as much, but are caught in the dilemma of attempting from the very nature of the Gush. It could not

continue to exist, much less maintain the minimum strength needed for the establishment of even a handful of settlements, without such publicity.

This belief would seem to be strengthened by the virtual American silence about the recent establishment of new settlements in the Rafiah area in northern Sinai and the inauguration of the new city of Katzrin in the Golan. And this, of course, is the Labour Party's argument: that contrary to what the Likud claims, the Alignment did not neglect to settle the territories but carried it out with admirable and effective circumspection.

THE MOST IMPORTANT part of the question about the seriousness of the government's settlement plans, however, concerns the glaring gap between visions, plans and realities.

Ariel Sharon speaks of settling 2m. people out of a total Jewish population of 6-8m. by the end of the century in a strip, parallel to the coast, extending from the Golan, through the Jordan Rift Valley, the Arava and down to Sharm e-Sheikh at the southern tip of Sinai.

The reality, as he himself admits, is that after 10 years of settlement effort, there are fewer than 10,000 Israelis across the green line. The claim that a good many of the settlements in the Rift Valley are nearly empty, or very thinly occupied, was not just a piece of Alignment electioneering *gaucherie*, but a sorry fact. There are still about ten times as many Arabs in Jericho and neighbouring Ajlun as in all the 15 Israeli settlements in the valley. Kiryat Arba, further to the south, is one-third empty.

In the much shorter term, he speaks of the great urgency of thickening the Jerusalem corridor; settling the western slopes of Samaria and the cross-Samaria highway which is to connect the coastal plain with the Rift Valley; rescuing the wide areas between Hebron and the Arad Valley from the depredations of Arab poachers; continuing the settlement of the Rafiah gap, and seriously tackling the problem of the Jewish-Arab population balance in Galilee. The weakness here is that there is no reference to priorities among these many goals.

To continue with the realities: Gush Emunim claims, at most, several hundred families who are ready to establish their 12 settlements. Sharon says that an additional several hundred young families have signed up to "go on *hityashvut*" as evidence of a reawakening of true patriotic and Zionist fervour.

A few thousand souls who have indicated their intentions, but not done anything yet to implement them, are a fraction of the much larger numbers which have actually gone to settle under Labour Governments during the past 10 years. This hardly constitutes the revolution in attitudes required to move Israelis from the coastal strip to the parallel strip inland.

Of course, there is always *aliya*. But last year, the number of immigrants totalled 21,000. There are no exact figures, but it is believed that the number of those who left the country as undeclared emigrants is close to that figure. This has been the case for the past three years.

Cause for greater concern is the fact that few, if any, Jews who are seeking to leave such trouble spots as Argentina or South Africa are thinking of coming to Israel. This is a repetition of the behaviour of the much smaller

community of Chilean Jewry which, when forced to leave Chile several years ago, chose not to come to Israel. And the drop-out rate among Jews leaving the Soviet Union has continued to be above 50 per cent for a good part of this year.

Against this depressing background, the major debate which seems to be developing around the question of the future of *aliya* is whether Aryeh Dulzin of the Jewish Agency or Absorption Minister David Levy will control their absorption.

IS IT SERIOUS? Not really. At least not yet.

Mr. Sharon is absolutely correct in saying that Israel needs a guiding vision, and that the vision of a second surge of settlement activity could prove as energizing for Israel and for the Jewish people as was the first, which seems to have run out of human steam some years ago.

Ariel Sharon is far from being the originator of this vision, but if he is to be its prophet in the new regime, one hopes that he is aware of a number of problems and ironies connected with its implementation under a Likud Government.

Of all the factors involved in turning such a vision into reality — political constraints, money, land and people — the last is the most important and the most problematic. People must be moved to participate in and carry through such a major project in continuing nation-building and that generally requires the inspiration of a movement.

Irony number one is that of all Israel's political movements Mr. Begin's Herut and its partner in the Likud, the Liberals, have historically been the furthest removed from Israel's first-stage settlement effort. Whether they will be able to organize a true movement that will enthuse and energize the countless thousands of Israelis and prospective immigrants without whom such a gargantuan project will remain nothing more than yellowing blueprints, remains to be seen.

Ariel Sharon is very close to the mark when he notes that, in order to get such a human movement off the ground and sustain its momentum, established Israel along the coastal plain will have to be deprived of its preferential suckling-place at the teats of the national treasury. One will have to await the return from the U.S. of Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich and the entire Treasury elite, to canvass their opinion in the matter. In addition one cannot refrain from cynical thoughts concerning the views of the Likud's supporters in the Cities of the Plain.

Mr. Sharon's potentially biggest ally in his declared intention of turning Israel around is the *hityashvut* movement — the kibbutzim and moshavim — whose dedicated members constituted the human element of Israel's first settlement surge.

The second irony is that this impressive human reserve is largely organized in the parties that oppose the present government.

The success or failure of Ariel Sharon's and the Begin Government's ambitious plans for the physical and political future of Israel partly may well depend on whether they are capable of overcoming the wall of mutual suspicion that exists between Israel's new rulers and her old pioneers. In a much larger sense it will depend on revolutionizing the relationship between Israel and the Jewish people on the sore subject of *aliya*. □

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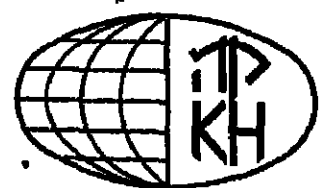
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הַגִּזְרָה מֵהַלֵּל

WALTER LAQUEUR was rather blunt in responding to a question about the coming "crunch" in American-Israeli relations. "I would imagine it's probably beginning right now," he said, leaning back in his chair. "It will gather momentum next spring."

During an interview in his Washington office, Prof. Laqueur painted a gloomy scenario for Israel. If the Begin Government maintains its current policies, he doesn't believe that U.S. pressure on Israel will be brutal, involving arms embargoes or cutbacks in economic assistance.

"It will be more subtle," the scholar said. "Above all, it will be a struggle for public opinion in America. Some people call it the 'Talwanization' of Israel. In other words, Israel will be described as an unreasonable party in a conflict, while the other side will be described as showing more responsibility and reason."

Laqueur, the director of the Institute of Contemporary History and Wiener Library in London, and chairman of the Research Council of Georgetown University's Centre for Strategic and International Studies here in Washington, believes that Prime Minister Menachem Begin is way off track in arguing that a clever Israeli propaganda effort in the U.S. will succeed in countering this development.

"First of all," he said, "I don't quite see who is going to undertake this great propaganda effort on the Israeli side. But even if Israel should have the greatest geniuses in the world, we all know that propaganda has its very narrow limitations."

"If the going is good, you don't need propaganda. If the going is bad, propaganda cannot really change basic facts. It can attenuate a little bit, but this is a kind of belief in gimmicks, and anyone who has a real understanding of politics or history should not be taken in by it."

ONE OF THE MOST prolific political writers on the academic scene today, Laqueur is no stranger to Israel. He was born in Germany in 1921, but spent his youth in Palestine. Since the 1950s, he has shuttled between London, Washington and other international capitals, teaching, writing and thinking. This past year he was a visiting professor at Harvard. Previously, he also taught at the University of Chicago and Johns Hopkins University. And he is also a professor of history at Tel Aviv University.

What Laqueur says, therefore, is certainly worth considering — very seriously.

He is concerned about Israel's image in the U.S. "If you look at the American press and media now," he said, "the attitude is much worse than it was two or three years ago."

And he is not especially hopeful about the immediate future. "There will be a further deterioration and there will be a further erosion of support in the Congress. All this, of course, does not mean that America is turning against Israel. We all know that some American support for Israel will continue. But it will be very much less than in the past."

Laqueur, speaking slowly, carefully spelling out his thoughts, continued: "The question is to what extent a small country like Israel can afford this. Israel isn't China. There are considerations of arms supplies, economic help, and also this intangible thing: a growing isolation. There will be a situation that

may be quite serious."

I asked Laqueur what Israel could do to prevent such a scenario from developing. "No one has found the ideal answer," he replied. "No one knows how to solve the conflict. But there are certain things which can be done. Certain things which should be done."

"IT IS TOTALLY unnecessary to stress and to recognize new settlements in the West Bank, let alone to establish new settlements at a time when we all know that the Galilee will have an Arab majority. If people are so eager to settle the land, they should obviously go to the Galilee, rather than to places where they fulfil no useful function — from a military or any other point of view."

"This, in a negative way, should be done."

"At the same time, Israel should come forward with various schemes which, while not depriving it of minimum security, will

## STEPPING BACK FROM CRISIS

The "crunch" in U.S.-Israel relations has begun. It will gather momentum next spring. So says Middle East expert and scholar Walter Laqueur. In an interview with Post Correspondent WOLF BLITZER in Washington, Laqueur discusses the consequences of Israel's current policies and why he believes that only the step-by-step approach is feasible.



show a way, over a lengthy period, indicating the general direction of the road to a settlement. I think that it is agreed by everyone now that a quick fix solution is out."

Laqueur believes that Israel should consider the option of establishing a joint Israeli-Arab trusteeship or condominium over the West Bank for a certain period of time. "There were such arrangements — admittedly they didn't work very well — after World War I when the Allies occupied for a limited time parts of Germany, parts of other countries."

HE FEELS that Israel should put forward "some such solution" for the West Bank. "To say: 'No giving up any part of the West Bank' — means that the road to war is certain. Israel will no doubt win that war, but the war will make Israel even more dependent upon the U.S., and thus politically weaker than it is now. For that

reason, such a course of action is self-defeating."

LAQUEUR CONCEDES that Israel finds itself in a very difficult dilemma. Asked whether the Arabs are ready to accept the permanent existence of Israel in the Middle East, he replied thus:

"I have to divide the question into two parts. If you ask the question, as is so often heard in Israel, whether the Arabs have accepted the existence of Israel in the long term — are they willing to live in peace with it? — the answer is no. The honest answer is no."

"But I don't quite think that this is, in a way, the correct question because, obviously, the Arabs would prefer to see, if they could without great cost, Israel disappear tomorrow, with a magic wand. They would prefer that. But they know, at least the more responsible and the more important among them know, that this is just not on."

"And for that reason, they are willing to get Israeli concessions — admittedly very much one-sided concessions — now, in the tacit assumption that in 10 or 20 years a different generation will continue hostilities against Israel."

"Now, having said this, I would immediately add that, at the same time, the Arab world is deeply divided. If Israel bases its policy on the goodwill of the Arab countries, then indeed it is on very shaky ground. One of the main factors that creates a limited amount of unity and cohesion among the Arabs is the existence of Israel as a common enemy."

"The Arabs share this assumption that here is this big Zionist danger and we must all stick together; there must be solidarity, and so on."

Laqueur pointed out that inter-Arab rivalries inevitably affect this solidarity.

"Now, for the moment, the Israeli 'danger' doesn't look that large — as we have seen, for instance, from the little war between Egypt and Libya. There are also all sorts of conflicts, both between the Arab countries and inside them. The quarrel between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' — between countries and inside countries. We have tremendous differences between them. Why should Kuwait and Abu Dhabi have per capita Gross National Products of between \$30,000 and \$40,000 while other countries, not far away, have only \$100 or \$200?"

"At the same time, there is social tension within the various Arab countries. So the point I am trying to make is that while Israel cannot trust the goodwill of the Arabs, it can, to a large degree, trust the conflicts inside the Arab world, which make for disunity. To say that we will not make peace or not give up anything until the Arabs are willing to permit Israelis to travel to Cairo, is nonsense, in my view."

Even for the biggest power, Laqueur says, politics means taking risks. "There are no insurance policies in international affairs, as there are in private life. One has to take risks — not unreasonable risks or suicidal risks. But one has to take calculated risks and to weigh the consequences of a course of action."

"And I think the risk involved in making certain concessions is less than the policy of not giving up one inch. I am not talking about the moral aspect of the problem — I am talking about very real security and political aspects. It would be foolish and dishonest to say that this kind of policy is foolproof."

THIS, Laqueur urges Israel, the Arab states and the U.S. to forget about achieving an over-all settlement. "I am not convinced that the Geneva conference is such a wonderful idea, because these kinds of conferences, mass meetings, do not produce results."

He says that if there is a Geneva conference, "it probably will be a ceremonial meeting and after that people will decide to disperse."

"If progress is not made towards peace, then I am afraid that people from all the sides will have to go back to the much-maligned step-by-step approach — the Kissinger approach. In fact, what we have seen lately (the Vance mission to the Middle East) is a shuttle. Vance didn't stay that long, but in principle, he was going back to the same thing."

LAQUEUR believes that the Administration may itself be coming around "willy nilly" to accept this fact of life. "It doesn't mean that the exact Kissinger technique will be used again; probably not. But basically, there will have to be step-by-step — or nothing."

What about the chances of another war breaking out in the Middle East next year?

"I would think it's quite unlikely," Laqueur replied, adding quickly: "However, I must say that not everyone in this town shares my view, including some people who are in a better position to know details than I am" — an apparent reference to government officials in Washington.

Laqueur "suspects" that whatever negotiations are initiated will break down. "But I don't think that Egypt, at the present moment, either wants or is in a position to go to war. And to go to war without Egypt is difficult, from the Arab point of view, even though Iraq, during the last couple of years, has become a much more important military factor."

Laqueur does fear that the Egyptians could be drawn into a war. "Anyway," he continued, "wars, as we know from history, do not exactly break out always when people are fully prepared for them. Sometimes they break out even if they are not prepared. So, I hate to predict, but my feeling is that if there won't be that famous 'movement' towards peace, then there will be a trend towards war. But such a war is more likely to break out in 1978 or 1980 than in 1978."

HE SAID that the Arabs may wait along the sidelines for a while. "And watch how Israel begins to quarrel with its one ally, and how relations deteriorate."

Later during the interview, Laqueur said that it was still too soon after the Begin election to determine the course of Israeli policy. In any case, he is not certain that Israel's new leadership will be able to continue its desired approach to negotiations, "because, after all, small powers, or medium-size powers, are not altogether independent. There are military, economic and political constraints. So it is very difficult to predict what Israeli foreign policy will be in a year or two from now."

As long as Israel and the U.S. discuss only procedural issues, relations between the two countries will not deteriorate seriously, he said. But once substantive negotiations begin, this could change. "Indeed, a few days after Mr. Begin left Washington, there was already a small crisis, and then there was a bigger crisis. I am afraid this kind of tension will go on." □



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## Reforming zeal



Rabbi Stephen S. Wise



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

**RENEW OUR DAYS:** The Zionist issue in Reform Judaism by David Polish; World Zionist Organization and World Union for Progressive Judaism. 276 pp. No price stated.

Geoffrey Wigoder

IT HAS BEEN given to few ideological movements to reverse themselves so completely on a fundamental issue as the Reform Movement has done on Zionism. In 1889, its leading thinker, Abraham Geiger, declared: "The hope that all Israelites be gathered from every corner of the globe and return to the promised land has vanished entirely from our consciousness." Just one century later the Central Conference of American Rabbis (the Reform rabbinical organization) held its convention in Jerusalem. It met in the Jerusalem branch of the Hebrew Union College, the first American rabbinical seminary to make a year's study in Israel mandatory for its candidates.

Rabbi David Polish, who was himself deeply involved in the last stages of the Zionization of Reform, has written a useful study that requires a word of caution about its rather misleading subtitle. This is not the much-needed authoritative study of the whole story of Reform Judaism and Zionism; it is, as Rabbi Polish makes clear at the outset and Rabbi Richard Hirsch stresses in his introduction, a record of the Zionist issue within the Reform rabbinate.

Certainly the key to the story lies in the rabbinate, but the whole story requires a complementary description of

developments within the lay branches of the Movement, and that is outside the purview of this volume. This book relies heavily on quotations from the proceedings of Conventions of the Central Conference, which constitute relevant and interesting documentation — although one would have liked to know more also about what went on behind the scenes. But Rabbi Polish has taken the first step on which future researchers will doubtless build.

His book will correct two misconceptions. One, still lingering in Israel, is that today's Reform Movement remains hostile, or at least reserved, in its attitude to Zionism. The other, heard especially among enthusiastic young Reform Jews in the U.S., ignores the long anti-Zionist Reform record.

The early pronouncements and actions can still make one's hair stand on end. Nationalism was the dirtiest word in the dictionary and any prayer or ritual pointing to a return to Zion was expunged. The authoritative declaration of Reform principles issued at Pittsburgh in 1886 laid down: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation but a religious community and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine nor sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish State." Zionism was on a par with the revival of animal sacrifice!

RABBI POLISH divides his history into four periods. Up to 1917, Reform was virtually an anti-Zionist monolith. There was a tiny handful of exceptions (Judah Magnes was one), but there were many more at the other extreme,

prepared to say that of all possible places of refuge for masses fleeing Europe, Palestine alone was ineligible as it would engender nationalism.

But with World War I there were tides of history that Reform could no longer ignore. In the second period — 1917-36 — Zionist opinion gained momentum within the Reform rabbinate and, although still a minority view, was accepted as a legitimate alternative. The majority, moreover, melted from anti-Zionism to non-Zionism. The two giants of Reform Zionism, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, were now among the Movement's most influential figures.

The third phase was short but crucial. Lasting from 1936 to 1943, it witnessed the minority voice becoming the majority opinion. The 1937 Columbus Platform, which replaced the Pittsburgh declaration, incorporated the statement: "In the rehabilitation of Palestine, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life."

They were still not there. It needed all the force of Silver to bring Reform into line on the Jewish State issue, while the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism was the creation of diehard Reform rabbis. But the Conference was to move to a position of complete identification with the State to the extent that Polish labels the final period "Israel orientation."

Inside Israel, the late advent of Reform left the field wide open for Orthodoxy and secularism. It is intriguing but useless to speculate if the face of religion in this country would have been basically different had Reform theology reversed itself 60 years ago.

Rabbi Polish provides a description of what Reform has achieved in Israel in recent years. And he concludes with a timely word of warning that the possibility of a reversion to old controversies in new forms should not be dismissed, especially since the Yom Kippur war — when certain Jewish quarters abroad (such as the Breira group) have evidenced a "turn-back to the Diaspora" ideology. In the light of this, his story is not only of historic interest but has contemporary application and relevance. □



## Banned

**HA HAKHRA'AH BILT NIMNA'AT** נחמה בילט נמנה. The Decision Will Have To Be Made by Abba Gefen. Holon, Biblos. 196 pp. No price stated.

IN ITS ISSUE dated June 26, 1974, *The Jerusalem Post* printed a story in which the genesis of this book is to be found. Following a ruling by the Attorney-General barring top civil servants from heading ideological circles within political parties, the Ben-Gurion Ideological Circle — then headed by the author — asked the Labour Party "to point out to the Attorney-General the serious consequences of his opinion..." (which) prejudices many dozens of civil servants who are active in the Labour Party's various ideological circles.

Although in due course Dr. Gefen, Director of the Cultural Department of the Foreign Ministry, stepped down as head of the Circle, he continues to advocate his view, calling for "a policy of defence activism and political realism." The thrust of such a policy is obvious, and Dr. Gefen's substantial book is a valiant attempt to argue his case. He for one believes that subsequent events have vindicated his various calls and warnings — among which was opposition to signing the interim agreement with Egypt in September, 1976.

While one is inclined to refrain from any comment on such a fateful-sounding pronouncement, one must hand it to Dr. Gefen that as far back as February, 1974, he warned that a Labour Alignment that submits an election list accommodating both Moshe Dayan and Mapam would find itself out of power after the next Knesset elections. □

## Calendars

I ONCE KNEW a printing press manager whose office was practically papered with calendars — I once counted 14 of them — and he was still late with deliveries.

This time of the year usually sees a fine harvest of wall calendars, most of them frankly promotional and of a repulsive aspect; others are designed primarily as interior decoration, to go with the curtains so to speak.

Pirelli, the Italian tyre manufacturers, once led the market for this type of calendar, basing their appeal on first-rate photographs of scantily-clad beauties (nudes were considered less erotic). Pirelli calendars became collectors' items and eventually fetched marvellously inflated prices. An old gag has it that two Irishmen once came up before a magistrate, charged with stealing a valuable Pirelli Art Calendar. He gave them six months apiece.

THE MOST interesting of the new calendars are two published by W. Turnowsky & Son, Ltd., *Treasures of the Kabbalah*, and one based on a series of Kopel Gurwin's appliqué wall-hangings depicting verses from the Bible.

They are beautifully printed — Danny Toren, the firm's director, has, in the last couple of decades, more or less single-handedly dragged Israeli printing and design standards, kicking and screaming as they went, up to an international level. The Calendar of Old Jewish manuscripts he put out last year is proof of the pudding. It was awarded a first prize at the Stuttgart International Calendar Competition.

*Treasures of the Kabbalah* exploits the rich treasury of Kabbalistic symbols, amulets and diagrams culled from centuries of Jewish mystical tradition; Kopel's tapestries exploit the decorative forms of Hebrew lettering as part of his tightly-knit compositions glowing with warm and vivid colours.

Kopel was the first to use an appliqué design for an Independence Day calendar. Ever since, hordes of copycats have been quilting, crocheting and tatting "posters" and foisting them on the dullards who decide on these matters. But Kopel remains an original designer, and this calendar proves it. □

Alex Berllyne

## Mysterious ways

**THE JEWISH MIND** by Raphael Patai. New York, Scribners. 624 pp. \$14.95.

Howard Schwartz

RAPHAEL PATAI'S *The Jewish Mind* is a synthesis of his life's work, which has been devoted to explaining the profoundly influential, complex, and mysterious ways of the Jewish people.

In his earlier works, especially *The Hebrew Goddess*, *Tents of Jacob*, and *The Myth of the Jewish Race* (the last of which received the National Jewish Book Award in 1976), Dr. Patai approached this subject from the rabbinic, historical, sociological, anthropological, and even scientific points of view.

In his latest book, he incorporates all these approaches in an attempt to define what popular culture has long recognized as a *Yiddisher kop*. And he succeeds admirably in steering clear of the dangers of chauvinism to present the first in-depth study of the many factors that must be examined when considering the phenomenon of the survival and even flowering of Jewish culture in alien and often antagonistic environments.

Dr. Patai first approaches the development and evolution of the uniquely Jewish consciousness through a lucid re-examination of Jewish history. He demonstrates convincingly that the historical encounters of the Jewish people with their neighbouring or host cultures not only reinforced the

Jewish sense of identity, but also provided rich sources for the further development of Jewish culture, which has never remained static but has always evolved.

Yet the most remarkable aspect of this cultural assimilation was the manner in which the foreign attitudes were rapidly transformed and incorporated into a Jewish context. It is this singular ability, perhaps, that is the crux of the Jewish genius. The Jews were not only affected by history, but were soon in a position to affect it themselves, which they inevitably proceeded to do.

HOWEVER, the process that enabled the various Jewish communities to draw from their Gentile environments while remaining true to themselves produced, inevitably, a wide range of Jewish models; the terms "Sephardic" and "Ashkenazi" denote only the two primary classes; and these groups were quite likely to regard other Jewish communities as even

more foreign than the Gentiles of their host country.

In view of this historical fact, the difficulty of defining a distinctive Jewish mind becomes considerable. Dr. Patai has already examined this question from the point of view of race in his book *The Myth of the Jewish Race*, and he comes back to it this time to consider whether there are common qualities among the many and far-flung Jewish communities that can be said to reflect a distinctly Jewish mind.

His conclusion here is similar to that of the earlier book: while it is possible to speak of common factors among groups of Jews that have evolved in one general area over a period of time, it is not possible to speak of a single pattern that can be assumed to reflect all Jewish communities.

Yet, paradoxically, it is precisely this diversity that is one of the basic traits of the Jews, who manage to blend each generation's social and psy-

chological influences with living traditions and deep-rooted values to produce a new and inevitably unique blossoming of Jewish culture.

No better illustration of this synthesis of past and present that is so characteristic of the Jewish mind could be offered than this fascinating book, which provides a rich historical and cultural context and also manages to explore the pattern of individual Jewish successes in every realm of human endeavour.

On the basis of this book and of the 27 volumes that have preceded it, it is only just that Raphael Patai be recognized, in the words of historian Howard M. Sachar, as "an extraordinary phenomenon, an anthropologist-sociologist of such dazzling erudition, originality, and fecundity that he surely must now be given his proper ranking with Levi-Strauss, Kroeber, Park, and Parsons as one of the monumental intellects of the twentieth century." □



# Trepper's story

**THE GREAT GAME** by Leopold Trepper. Translated from the French. New York, McGraw-Hill. 408 pp. + appendices. \$10.95

Bruce Brender

THE MOST important thing about Leopold Trepper, and the key to his success as an anti-Nazi agent in World War II, is the concern he felt, and still feels, for the members of his ring.

His comrades-in-arms are recalled with affection, and not with the cold assessment of agent controllers (Sander Rado's *Codename Dora* is an example).

The core members of Trepper's organization were with him in the Zionist-communist underground of his youth in Poland, or joined his revolutionary group in Palestine (Mr. Trepper immigrated from Poland in 1928 and was deported by the British in 1930). The others were fighters as well: volunteers for the French or Belgian armies, or veterans of the Republican army in Spain. Volunteers came from Germany too, anti-Nazis who wouldn't give up. Frequently, the non-Jews had strong personal reasons for joining: Harro Schulze-Boysen's partner was murdered by the Nazis in 1933; Arvid Harnack's wife was Jewish.

HOW IS IT that an obscure Yiddish-language journalist was able to run a network of agents in Paris, Brussels, and Berlin? Trepper had the languages; he had spent years in France, to which he had been deported in 1930, and had learned German at school in Galicia. He had the revolutionary contacts, too.

Among the people Trepper met at Marchevski — a Comintern university for national minorities in Moscow — in the 1930s, was General Jan Berzin, the Red Army intelligence chief. Berzin, who became Trepper's mentor, is staunchly defended by him as a warm-hearted, principled man. General Berzin's principles got him arrested in 1938, shortly after he had given Trepper his charge.

Leopold Trepper had to organize from scratch, and start a network he did, with the help of

Leo Grossvogel, whom he had known in Palestine.

Hillel Katz, another contact from Palestine, made his own way to France and volunteered for the Foreign Legion. After the collapse of the French Army, Katz found Trepper. Alfred Corbin had already become a co-founder of Simexco, the company established as a front for the network's activities. In Brussels, Isidor Springer, an ex-officer in the Belgian Army, joined the network. Johann Wenzel, "The Professor," an old militant and the trainer of the network's radio operators, came aboard.

Nearly 300 volunteers became involved in the outfit, 80 per cent of them non-Jews. They received a stipend of \$100 a month, as did Trepper, from what was later called a "Jewish black marketeering operation."

WHAT STARTED off as a trenchcoat business, with seed-money of \$10,000, soon became the Simexco building materials firm, supplying cement for the construction of the Atlantic Wall. This cover operation proved to be Trepper's ticket into the champagne circle of Nazi war profiteering. Yet there is very little in Trepper's book about the astonishing successes the Red Orchestra achieved, especially in Berlin (Schulze-Boysen worked at the Air Ministry, Arvid Harnack at the Ministry of Finance). Trepper is more concerned with telling us what happened to his friends.

Forced by an inexperienced Central to stay on the air five hours a night, the operations centre in Brussels was identified by the Germans. Scores were arrested. The trail led to Paris, where dozens more were arrested. An incredible telegram from Central, listing the names and addresses of the Berlin chiefs, was deciphered by the Germans, and spelled the destruction of the Berlin group. The hammer blows of 1942 finally fell on the "Big Chief" (codename "Otto").

Remarkably few of the people captured revealed any significant information, let alone betrayed their fellows. There were two glaring exceptions: Kent (Victor Sukulov), whom Trepper suspects

of involvement with the NKVD, and Captain Efremov, a Moscow spy school graduate, who "turned around" when he let his captors play on his Ukrainian background.

IN THE EPILOGUE and appendices, the fate of the people involved in the drama is laid before the reader. Harro and Libertas Schulze-Boysen, beheaded; Arvid and Mildred Fish Harnack, beheaded; Isidor Springer, who entered his darkened flat with pistol blazing, wounding two Gestapo men, jumped out of a window at police headquarters, rather than reveal anything; Hillel Katz, who was transferred to the political jail at Rue de Saussures, where Trepper could watch his friend's torture, successfully smuggled out Trepper's report to Moscow and was later executed; Alfred Corbin, torn apart by dogs when he refused to talk.

Then there were the others. SS Obersturmbannführer Karl Giering, died of natural causes; ex-theology student Heinz Pannwitz, Giering's replacement as inquisitor, at 32 a veteran of the

and adolescent. They would have been no less so if your hero had been propositioning shop-girls outside Woolworths.

EXCEPT IN THE superb extracts from his newspaper columns (he was the first "William Hickey" on Beaverbrook's *Daily Express*), the book cannot dispel a sense of dilettantism. On his own testimony, Driberg was at best a political middleweight. Where are the ideas, or the muscle, that would have made him a compelling candidate for anybody's Cabinet?

Driberg's record could as easily be read as a study in hetero tolerance, as well as a case history of how the English ruling élite looks after its own. He was elected time and again to Parliament and to the Labour Party executive, of which he eventually took his turn as chairman. Harold Wilson made him a lord. Yet for most of his public life, homosexuality was against the law and Driberg was perpetually at risk. Everyone in Westminster and in Fleet Street knew of his deviant

Perhaps because of the two about-faces of the Red Orchestra, and the cleverly concealed desire of the Gestapo men to save their own skins, some things are still unclear. "Gestapo-Müller gave Pannwitz a packet of German agents' names to give to the Russians," says Trepper. Pannwitz escaped East; there are persistent rumours that Müller did, too. It goes without saying that many ex-Gestapo agents were never even tried.

In 1961, Heinz Hohne wrote *Kennwort Direktor* (*Codeword Director*), which reads like a negative image of Gilles Perrault's *Red Orchestra*. "In '71, I read Hohne's book," recalls Trepper. "I invited him to come to Warsaw, and offered him all my proofs. But he was afraid of the anti-Semitic campaign there."

"I met him finally at the Frankfurt Book Fair. He apologized to me, and confided he had been a member of the Hitler Youth. I told him that Hitler Youth members were often more fanatic than people who joined the Nazis as adults."

MANY OF the source references in Hohne's book are from David Dallin's *Soviet Espionage* (Yale University, 1958). Mr. Dallin had this to say in his preface:

"In Germany, former officers of the Abwehr and public prosecutors of the Nazi era, as well as the new justice officers, were among my witnesses. Extensive Gestapo reports, when corroborated by other sources, helped me understand Soviet espionage during the war. The sources of information are cited throughout the book; in cases where the document or the author has had to remain anonymous, the source is indicated as a 'D' paper..." A scandalous document, perverting the work of the Red Orchestra was made from Hohne's book. Its final instalment had to be withdrawn from French TV and even Hohne declared that he wasn't consulted about the film and that a new film, based on new information, should have been made.

Leopold Trepper has written his book to give us his friends' stories as well as his own, and to show that many of the heroes were Jews.

The Germans who could write about this haven't done so, probably out of fear of sounding anti-Semitic, and the communists have simply refused. □

# Up the workers

**RULING PASSIONS: The Autobiography of Tom Driberg.** London, Jonathan Cape. 271 pp. £5.95.

Eric Silver

ON HEARING that Tom Driberg, the left-wing Labour MP, was about to marry, Winston Churchill is reputed to have remarked: "I suppose he will now proceed through the usual channels." An alternative version has the elder statesman scanning the bride's portrait and grunting: "Buggers can't be choosers."

Driberg's reckless homosexuality was one of the worst-kept secrets of British politics, from his election to the Commons in 1942 to his death as a life peer a year ago. His marriage, in the early 1950s, seems to have made no difference to the "ruling

passions" of his title — "deviant sex, exotic religion and left-wing politics."

An English reviewer summed up Driberg's credo more succinctly as: "Up the workers!" As this deliberately posthumous autobiography recounts, in embarrassing detail, his sexual career was a succession of pick-ups in public lavatories, often of young men too indignant to refuse his money.

One of his more balanced encounters was with a young Scottish soldier in the Black Watch, who was enticed to his room in the King David Hotel in 1938 (Driberg was visiting Jerusalem as a journalist covering the Arab revolt). After what the book celebrates as "just the right combination of lust and affection," the soldier leaned back on the pillow and sighed: "Only asexual like women. Real men prefer male flesh."



"RULING PASSIONS" was devoted as an act of defiance and as an assault on the dictatorship of the heterosexual, which the author believed had conspired to keep him out of office — even under Attlee, who Driberg felt ought to have known better since he had been to the English public school. The book falls on both counts: The tales of Driberg's conquests are squalid

and adolescent. They would have been no less so if your hero had been propositioning shop-girls outside Woolworths.

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הגזן מן האל

# No alternative

**THE MASSADA PLAN** by Leonard Harris. London, Michael Joseph. 314 pp. £4.50.

Martin Sieff

THE BOOK starts with the usual lurid love scene by *Woman's Own* out of Kraft-Ebing and *Applied Mechanics*.

She is Kate Colby, star TV news-broad of UBC — "aside from Barbara Walters, the only woman in TV news with the clout." He is Dov Shalzar, American-born Israeli ambassador to the UN.

Things have changed since Chaim Herzog's day.

They've changed in more ways than one. It's 1979, two years since America cut off arms supplies to Israel and the Arabs, armed to the teeth, are attacking again. And they're winning.

For 15 brief pages this novel grips as the Israeli Cabinet, faced with genocide debates its Doomsday option — the Massada Plan. Either America and Russia move in to guarantee the survival of Israel or atomic bombs will be exploded in Cairo, Damascus, London, Paris, Berlin, Moscow, Leningrad, Los Angeles, and New York.

"Now is when it must be done. Let it be on our heads. Let the country's young writers and philosophers vilify us for it later."



I just hope they're around to do it, and there's a country around for them to do it in," says the Prime Minister. Only one member of his Cabinet, a sabra dove, opposes it: "Do you want us to be remembered for all time by this warning?" The answer: "...you could not bring yourself to utter the only alternative to the plan, which is to let Israel die."

MR. HARRIS has set up a terrifying scenario. Terrifying because it convinces totally. But then, for the remaining 280 pages of the novel, he blows the game and plays a two-bit psychological sub-

story as Colby/Walters is prevailed upon by the go-getting U.S. Secretary of State and his best friend, who is also her old flame (a wasp smoothie) to Save the World by spying on her Israeli boyfriend.

While Israel is supposedly faced with total destruction in blood and fire and the Great Powers are tooling up for Armageddon, we are treated to lines like: "Edlington Colby III, a Georgia gentleman, disposed of her virginity on their wedding night but advanced her sexual development very little after that."

Mr. Harris does know his stuff. This novel was written and published before the story of the vanishing 200 tons of uranium "leaked." The blurb tells us that he has an "intimate knowledge of covert operations" and also co-starred in the movie *Taxi Driver*.

What this ex-CIA film star with a crush on Barbara Walters has failed to do, is to write a convincing thriller. Unlike Alfred Koppel, in the superb *34 East*, or the Grand Master himself, Freddie Forsyth, he hasn't grasped that a political thriller must be totally credible, and that it is the tight, factual style with the abundance of accurate hardware details that convinces. Walter Wager, in *Telefon*, knew the value of telling us that senior KGB men suck smuggled American Tums for their stomach ulcers. All Mr. Harris leaves us with when the World is Saved is Kate/Barbara's sudden awareness that "she had cut herself off from Shalzar and spied for the Americans." □

and 1971, may have had their impact at the time of original publication. Today, however, they are dull, stale and not infrequently anachronistic. Even some of Asimov's so-called avant garde suggestions on women's role in the future sound antediluvian and are too often patronising and sexist.

For instance, in "No Space for Women," Asimov argues that women must be accepted in future space programmes. Why? After all one cannot expect astronauts on long journeys to remain celibate. He further suggests that women's presence will have to be tolerated, orgastic and all, even if their presence "offends the moral bulk of America's population." In another essay, "Freedom at Last," Asimov predicts that "the young lady of 1990 will not need to sell herself to any man because that is the only legal and respectable way of having sex and children." Hmm...did he say 1990? In his doomsday piece "The End...or Else," he gives notice that sex in the future "will have to be looked on as essentially a way of amusing one's self and one's partner," in order to prevent a dangerous population explosion. Play that again Sam! □

# Trouble in store

**TIME AND AGAIN** by Clifford D. Simak. London, Magnum. 255 pp. 70p.

**TOWARDS TOMORROW** by Isaac Asimov. London, Coronet. 118pp. 70p.

Lynn Sharon

MAN, 4,000 YEARS into the future, has conquered the galaxies with the aid of androids, test-tube creations human in all respects except in their inability to reproduce biologically. The androids, tattooed at birth, are subservient to their creator, biological man. They shuffle, smile and obey, and carry the load of controlling the galactic empire by making "the thin line of humanity thicker." But this master-servant arrangement is now threatened, and it is a time-traveller from the future who makes the distant rumblings sound imminent with his menacing warning of calamity.

Everything hinges on Christopher Adams, Supervisor of Alien Relations Bureau—Department of Galactic Investigations, carrying out the time-traveller's order that Asher Sutton, lost in space for 20 years, be killed as soon as he returns to earth. Sutton, the time-traveller warns, must be killed in order to prevent the death of millions in centuries to come. It is Sutton's book, still to be written, that threatens the status quo.

*Time and Again*, written shortly after the Second World War, is a powerful reaction to the trauma of the time — but and transcendental. Although not as razor sharp as Simak's later book, *Way Station*, written in 1963, this 1953 re-issue is well worth reading.

ON THE OTHER hand, *Towards Tomorrow*, a collection of fifteen essays written by Isaac Asimov, considered by many to be a master of science fiction, smacks of rank commercialism. These articles, published in a variety of journals through the years 1967

is Sleeping Murder! Miss Marple's Last Case (Fontana, 192 pp., 80 p.). This is far superior to Hercule Poirot's *Curtain*.

Miss Marple is as fresh and bright as ever, as she tracks down a bad egg who committed a murder 19 years previously. She faces a moral problem. Would it have been better to let sleeping dogs lie, than to provoke the murderer to strike again and again to cover his tracks. She sticks on his trail like a tracker-dog.

Miss Marple is described as "an attractive old lady, tall and thin, with pink cheeks and blue eyes, and a gentle, rather fussy

manner." Strange. I always thought she looked like Margaret Rutherford.

The leading characters, in James M. Cain's *Rainbow's End* (Magnum, 191 pp. 70 p.) are "Mountain"; this makes them very tough indeed. A hijacker, with a hostess as a hostage and a big bag of ransom money, drops out of the sky, so people start to die fast. We are somewhat shocked by Mom's theastuous proposals, even in these permissive days when parents are allowed so much, but all is explained by journey's end. The word for this is the one I've used — tough. □ Philip Gillon

# Vintage murder

TWO PAPERBACKS bring back two veterans whom we all respect, one from beyond the grave — Agatha Christie. The other, still, I hope, living lustily away, is James M. Cain, author of *Double Indemnity* and *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, two early and very successful ventures in ultra-tough thriller writing.

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# A DIFFERENT KIBBUTZ EXPERIENCE

AN INVITATION to conduct High Holy Day services in a secular kibbutz presented me with the chance to have an exciting and unprecedented experience. Echoes of spiritual groping in kibbutzim, yearning for tradition on the part of intellectuals, disillusionment with rampant secularism, budding *teshuvah* sentiments, a need to fill a spiritual vacuum — one couldn't resist such a call. Yet it meant being away from Jerusalem, away from that very special atmosphere, the enveloping and uplifting sanctity of Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur in the Holy City.

I decided to venture forth, but not without investigating the available possibilities beforehand. There were four kibbutzim that had indicated a readiness for Holy Day worship. Obviously, if I decided to go through with it, I would have to choose one.

Ma'agan Michael is a large, well-established kibbutz on the Mediterranean. It had extended an invitation to a Conservative rabbi the year before, but at the last moment the services were cancelled without explanation.

The "committee" I was to meet turned out to be the *metapela* — the counsellor for parents of kibbutz members who had come to spend their sunset years with their children and grandchildren. What had happened there the previous year? I asked.

An item in the mimeographed kibbutz bulletin disclosed part of the story:

"Inquiry: I would like to ask the secretary to explain, through the pages of this bulletin, the considerations that impelled him to cancel Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur services for the elderly of our village. (Signed) Y.S."

"Response of the secretary: The consideration was that the establishing of a synagogue in our midst requires a decision of principle by the general meeting, and without a meeting it is not possible to change existing procedures. The parents have come here knowing the character of our community."

Behind this abrupt and mystifying statement there unfolded a tale of elderly men and women from Europe and America who had come to the kibbutz, little suspecting that for them to continue their life-long practice of High Holy Day worship would be regarded as contrary to "the character of the community." Among them there were survivors of the Holocaust and of Russian detention camps who had never failed to observe the Holy Days before.

The kibbutz had a long history of militant secularism. The counsellor had taken it upon himself to approach the United Synagogue of Israel for assistance on the Holy Days. It was the plea of the oldest member of the group, for what he regarded as his last opportunity to *daven* (pray) that finally moved her to seek a rabbi.

But the *maskir* (secretary) had not authorized the unprecedented step. When news of the contemplated services got to him, he publicly announced that he would personally stand at the gates of the kibbutz to drive away any "clergy" daring to violate the premises. So I learned how a dis-



Traditional worship calls for group participation, but a minyan can be the hardest thing to find on a secular kibbutz. Conservative Rabbi GERSON WINER describes the challenge of arranging for, and conducting High Holy Day services at settlements which had no history of traditional prayer observance.

tinguished colleague had been spared an unpleasant incident on the eve of Rosh Hashana 5736.

Fortunately, there had been a change in policy with the election of a new *maskir*. Nonetheless, the influence of his predecessor had not waned sufficiently to allow for any precipitous action. Diplomatic efforts produced a compromise. Worship for the elderly would be condoned, subject to three qualifications: No public facility of the kibbutz was to be used; no public announcement was to be made; no-one was to be solicited to complete the *minyan* (there were about 40 women, but less than 10 men, in the group).

It was difficult to believe that such an attitude was possible in Israel in 1976. The counsellor, a sensitive individual, tried to reassure me by maintaining that it all appeared terribly exaggerated. But a life-long kibbutznik remarked: "You've heard of religious coercion? What you see here is anti-religious coercion."

The old folks had received me with warmth, in fond anticipation of my return for the services. Regrettably, I indicated to the counsellor that I would not be a

party to underground services in the Jewish State.

Neve Eitan has a history of 40 years' struggle and achievement in the face of the forces of nature and of men in the Beit She'an Valley. It's a small community of about 60 families, with fewer than 250 adults and children. The initiative for Holy Day services came from a new member of the kibbutz, the son of a prominent Conservative rabbi in America, now deceased. He is serving as the English teacher in the regional high school located in the kibbutz.

Those convened for the planning meeting included the principals of both the high school and the elementary school, a few Americans, and several parents of children of school-going age. Some were hostile, others were indifferent. The teenagers present called attention to the fact that *Kol Nidre* might interfere with the annual "steak party."

However, the English teacher and his wife, popular, articulate and well-integrated, could not be totally ignored. So there was to be no organized opposition to services. Some *haverim* might even drop in.

I explained that traditional

worship calls for group participation rather than individual star performance. I had brought with me Goldfarb's collection of High Holy Day melodies in the hope that the music teacher would prepare a volunteer group of pupils for congregational chanting. At this point, the high-school principal vigorously voiced his objection, categorically declaring that he would be no party to the invasion of the school by the forces of religion.

Except for the trumpeter, who offered to blow the shofar, there was little evidence of any good will, not to speak of cooperation. Two hours of discussion ended in the conclusion, conveyed by the English teacher with regret and resignation, that services would not take place. When he added, "Do I want to raise my children in this atmosphere?" the kibbutzniks realized that they had gone too far.

I noticed a change of tone, if not of heart. My compromise suggestion was accepted: *Shabbat Shuva*, to include a Friday night lecture on the theme: "Religious experience in the secular kibbutz." Sabbath morning family services and an afternoon study

session on the relevance of the book of Genesis for the modern day.

KIBBUTZ EIN GEV is on the eastern shore of Lake Kinneret. There were reports of religious inclinations. A local teacher had even brought a Bar Mitzva class for a weekend to a synagogue in Jerusalem. From the pulpit he had made some positive statements about tradition and religious values.

The contact person was a veteran member, an intellectual of stature. There was a weekly study group on Judaism, which he headed. The current course of study spanned the cycle of religious festivals, with selected traditional sources. He would welcome guest lecturers on religious topics. But High Holy Day services didn't really interest him and he had no intention of attending them.

Religion was the domain of another *haver* in the kibbutz. He had been the one who had communicated with the United Synagogue. We spent a few hours together among the saddest in my encounters. Single-handedly, he had performed a miracle — the synagogue building under construction. With great effort he procured financial assistance from government and public agencies. Most important was the official permission finally granted by the kibbutz for a synagogue on its own grounds.

He had posted an announcement on the projected High Holy Day services, contingent upon a sufficient number of interested members indicating that they were prepared to attend. The count was a total of one — a young volunteer from South America. Not that others would not come. But no one had the courage to overcome the "barrier of embarrassment" (his term) by openly declaring himself a worshipper.

There followed a disheartening account of Jewish life in the kibbutz. He was among its pioneers in charge of a major branch of the farm economy. Years ago, there were the nationalistic songs and dances; now, these too were gone. The only religious atmosphere is provided by the volunteers of residence, gentiles of course, who decorate the dining room during the Christmas season. And this, he added, proved quite attractive to the young people of the kibbutz.

Of course, they were not placing any obstacles in his path as far as the building of the synagogue and his other religious pursuits were concerned. He was doing much for them; so they were allowing him to have his way.

He had become a *ba'al teshuva* after the Six Day War. A lonely man — even his family failed to follow him in his path of return, having been raised differently. Standing at the gates of the kibbutz after dusk, and listening to the spiritual odyssey of a veteran kibbutznik, I was reminded of the isolated Jew in the Polish or Russian peasant village, bemoaning his loneliness and conveying his longing for other Jews — a frequent scene in classical Yiddish literature.

A VISIT to Sha'ar Ha'amakim, somewhere near the Lebanese border; most of its members from

German-English and American Holy Day services? There is a *minyan* every Friday night, services are attended. The children receive proper Bar Mitzva instruction, from qualified members of the kibbutz. A faithful little synagogue. A cantor from outside had to assist a neighbouring kibbutz in the building of a house of worship as a memorial to the synagogue destroyed in their hometown in Germany. It was not on principle. So Sha'ar Amakim benefited by default. Assistance from the outside was really necessary. No need for a cantor to conduct services, for his own cantor was quite able to complete my mission and end home with fond anticipation of one more encounter with *shet-Maala* on the Holy Days.

DESTINY had decreed otherwise. A call from the English of Neve Eitan. There had been a change of heart. Many were urging him to conduct the services. People in a neighbouring kibbutz had approached him. Would I condescend to officiate?

An expedition to kibbutz-land made me aware of the basic elements for an authentic Holy Day experience. I postulated conditions: first, the invitation be extended by official authorities of the kibbutz; second, that the most attractive and appropriate auditorium be the synagogue; third, that there be written commitments of sustained attendance for the entire three- or four-hour service; fourth, that my obligation for Rosh Hashana did not automatically embrace Yom Kippur.

Conditions accepted. With permission we descended from Jerusalem. Provisions included a shofar, prayer books, shawls, prayer shawls, shofar, scrolls and a cantor.

Seventy souls went down to Ein Gev at one juncture in Jewish history. Nearly 70 others ventured to enter the makeshift kibbutz synagogue on the eve of Rosh Hashana 5737. It was the first time the religious service in their 40 years of spiritual wandering.

Deeply stirred by the special circumstances of this occasion, the congregation began the service with a blessing.

On the dictate of the rabbi, not by the requirement of the service, I mixed feelings of joy, sadness, uneasiness, and great expectation. The service proceeded; a few responses were given; melodies were sung. All were attentive; they read the text; some even wept. Something was kindled that night; would it last until the next morning?

Services the first day of Rosh Hashana at 8 a.m., with a *minyan* composed of the rabbi, cantor, his wives, two kibbutz members, one visitor, two small children and three dogs. Shortly after 10 a.m. arrived. Forty remained in attendance throughout the *shema* and half hour service. Less than the previous night, but the intensity was greater.

The reading of the Tora presented a challenge, for the rabbi required individual performance. The heads were bowed, but only a few of the *haverim* were in use. Inhibited, I decided to invest the Tora reading with all of the traditional

embellishments. Recipients of Tora honours were properly called up with the title of *Haver* preceding each name. The tension of the Cohen and the Levi on reciting their blessings for the first time was palpable. When, in the course of the *Mi Sheberach* for the third *ally*, including the mention of the members of the family, I heard a whisper in my ear "and all *haverim* on the kibbutz." I knew that the "barrier of embarrassment" had been broken.

Congregational melodies and extensive commentary, unofficial solemnity with disciplined informality, as well as aesthetically arranged facilities, made for an experience of shared worship. Services for the first day were successfully adjourned.

With calculated risk, *Mincha* and *Maariv* services were announced. They were conducted as planned.

THE LECTURE on religious experience in a secular kibbutz had been postponed for the second night, to allow for a more "proper" manner of observing the New Year (with a merrier programme on the first night). I had been looking forward to the dialogue with the Israel-born committed anti-religionists who represented the power structure



Inherited from the founding generation. Only a few of them arrived. In attendance were largely the worshippers of the morning session, and some of the participants in the initial pre-holiday confrontation who had absented themselves from the services. In all, there were 30 present.

There ensued a lively discussion that lasted until midnight. The self-designated secularists persisted in opposing all forms of traditional observance. They adhered to the premise that in the absence of a theological commitment, a religious experience is tantamount to an act of hypocrisy. They see religion exactly the way their forebears saw it over half a century ago. Nothing has changed. One either accepts without questioning the dogmas of classical Orthodoxy and thus Divine authority for all rituals, or rejects them outright.

The second day began with even greater uncertainty. Would the regulars return? And would others risk coming? We were pleasantly surprised. The children, in their curiosity staring through the windows at the strange goings-on within, fascinated by unfamiliar objects such as the Tora and the prayer shawls, apparently did the trick. One hundred were attracted by the blowing of the shofar and remained for a long time. The image of the trumpeter-turned-*ba'al teshuva*, decked in shorts and

sleeveless shirt, was a far cry from the venerable figure performing the holiest of rituals in an Israeli synagogue. Yet there was solemnity to it. Once again, 40 kibbutzniks remained for the four-hour service.

I HARBOURED many doubts about returning for Yom Kippur. True, Rosh Hashana had been more than a formal gesture. It approached an authentic religious experience. It was the talk of the Beit She'an Valley. Advocates and antagonists joined in spreading the word that "throngs" had been in attendance; the former as an expression of enthusiasm, the latter as an indication of shock.

In addition, it was revealed that many had been touched quite deeply by this encounter with religion. At one informal gathering there were voices of regret at the alienation from tradition — "Jewish culture," in their terms. An ark was even promised for Yom Kippur.

Yet there was another side to it all. The congregation consisted of the pioneer element, newer kibbutz members, Americans and guests. The power structure was conspicuously absent. The school authorities had failed to appreciate the educational value of exposing their pupils to living Jewishness. Of the 30 high-school pupils in the kibbutz, not one was possessed of even passing curiosity. Yom Kippur might prove too frustrating an undertaking altogether.

NOTWITHSTANDING the genuine hospitality meted out to us, we did not partake of the last pre-fast meal, which was served after the permissible hour. *Kol Nidre* was chanted at the required hour, with about 75 in attendance. To portray the scene with all its undertones would require the talent of an artist. On one side, the setting sun brightly illuminating the synagogue through the wide open windows. On the other, the outer barbed-wire fence, security road, ferocious watchdogs and inner security fence. In the midst of this, a congregation of self-created Marranos assembled for *Kol Nidre*; for many, perhaps the first in their lives. *Kol Nidre* is usually a very difficult service in an American synagogue. There is a gap between the demands of the occasion and the capacity for response on the part of an overfed congregation. Not so in this setting. Geography and history, topography and biography merged in symphonic orchestration to charge the moment with deepened awareness and inscribe it indelibly in memory.

Clearly, words of introduction to this *Kol Nidre* would only have detracted. There are occasions when silence speaks the loudest. The service included the reading of an essay — "Yom Kippur Thoughts" — by A. D. Gordon, the Neat of the movement to which this kibbutz was affiliated.

A message of penitence followed, with the text of *Al Het* applied in the kibbutz frame of reference, with candour though without recrimination. Cited was the case of Ma'agan Michael, which had denied parents the right to worship. Also the local case of educationally deprived children partaking of universally shared Jewish experience.

The congregation listened attentively, and remained to pray. I had stipulated that there be no competing event during the hours of the service. Yom Kippur activities for the secular were planned for later in the evening. They were announced as a memorial

(Continued overleaf)



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# KIBBUTZ

(Continued from page 29)

for the fallen of the Yom Kippur War and of other wars. The proceedings comprised a *Kol Nidre* record, a rendition of appropriate Hebrew songs, the memorial prayer — all on tape. Individual members read selections from the Bible. Brief, no audience participation, and yet not without meaning. Later, in informal conversation, I posed some questions:

Why was *Kol Nidre* on tape in the dining-room, with no participation except for smoking, preferable to community chanting of *Kol Nidre* in the auditorium-turned-synagogue?

Why is *Yizkor* in the dining-room at night preferable to the universal Jewish practice of reciting that prayer on the following morning in synagogue?

Why were the high-school pupils hardly more numerous at the secular assembly than at the religious services that preceded it?

"From the synagogue you kept them away; to your own secular culture you failed to bring them," I pointed out.

THE LITURGY on Yom Kippur was followed with little deviation from tradition and without interruption for nearly six hours — with 40 worshippers, which number more than doubled for the *Yizkor* hour.

Instead of a Yom Kippur sermon by an outsider — even if he were a guest rabbi — I had suggested a spiritual stocktaking by three kibbutz members: one from the generation of founders, the other from the younger activists, and the third from the youth. Though spokesmen for the first two groups were found, only one appeared, since the other — representing the younger Israel-born element — had posed unacceptable conditions, such as no conflict with his lunch period.

The older *haver*, a founding father of the kibbutz, delivered a five-minute address — the shortest but most memorable sermon I can recall.

"Four decades ago," he said, "we came to this valley and found nothing here. We believed that this landscape and our kibbutz way of life would suffice for us and our children. We now have all this, but we realize that we have erred. This landscape and kibbutz ideology are not enough. We need Jewish living."

He sat down and all were pensive for a few moments.

Then there was *Yizkor*, and the names were read of those who had fallen in the Yom Kippur War, in the War of Attrition, in the Six Day War, in the Sinai Campaign and in the War of Liberation. Remembered, too, were the fallen sons of the neighbouring kibbutz, for some of its members were in attendance.

The inhibitions clearly evident on Rosh Hashana had been removed. Here was the young *Cohen*, eagerly awaiting his *aliya* accompanied by his son; the veteran *haver* rendering Isaiah's Yom Kippur message of the *Haf-tara* in the sonorous diction and expression that came with comprehension; the worshippers readily approaching to open the Holy Ark; the spirited chanting and articulate responses in the readings; the kneeling of the cantor (omitted on Rosh Hashana) — all this transformed a social hall

into a *shul*, and avowed atheists into *daveners*.

In all my years of conducting services in America, I don't recall a congregation that remained in full attendance to the end of a six-hour service.

I HAD REQUESTED that the recess be utilized for a meeting with the high-school pupils. Though this was promised, it didn't come about. But half a dozen were finally rounded up. The theme for discussion was "The Meaning of Yom Kippur" — and I was interested more in hearing than in being heard.

They had this to say: Some of their parents had come to the synagogue because of childhood memories; they themselves have no such memories. Yom Kippur may be the Holy Day uniting all Jews but so is the Sabbath and they work on the Sabbath. The secular memorial meeting doesn't obligate them or speak to them. Yes, they fasted, though some of them found it difficult while working.

An outside observer would never have suspected that the congregation at the afternoon *Mikha* and *Ne'ila* was having its first group-worship experience. In standing position the full hour of



*Ne'ila* — the largest attendance so far (over 100) — the "secular" kibbutz congregation ascended to a crescendo with the culminating blast of the shofar.

There was an unscheduled epilogue before dispersal when the English teacher — the author and executor of this novel experiment in the kibbutz — jumped to his feet to make this statement:

"*Haverim* — I have a sin to confess. Our tradition demands that on these Holy Days 'You shall afflict your souls.' I confess that I have felt neither affliction nor suffering. Every moment of this Yom Kippur has been for me sheer joy."

THE UNEXPECTED had happened: High Holy Day services in a kibbutz, by the kibbutz and for the kibbutz. Not for the resident parents from abroad, nor for the transient student group from abroad. Officially sanctioned, publicly sponsored, and well attended, with progressively increasing participation.

Some concluding observations are in place. Though traditional in substance, structure and form (the prayer book we used was the one published by the Ministry for Religious Affairs), the services could not have evoked a similar response had there not been some flexibility. Strict adherence to the Orthodox pattern would have driven many away. So they con-

tended. Frequent responsive readings, extensive historical and ideological commentary on individual hymns, and efforts to relate the prayers to the contemporary human situation, achieved the purpose.

But it also necessitated considerable deletions, occasionally contrary to liturgical requirements. Yet the service continued as long as in the most pious of congregations. That this evaluation was not my own partisan judgment was demonstrated by the expressed opinions of the participating kibbutzniks. And unlike the practice in established synagogues, the kibbutz service maintained the same attendance throughout. There were sufficient indications that rigid compliance with liturgical requirements would not have elicited the same degree of cooperation.

On the other hand, a Reform service would have proved unacceptable. The announcement on the bulletin board, erroneously identifying the scheduled services as "progressive," actually prevented some of the members from coming.

The advance negotiations on the place and nature of the services, as well as on the expected cooperation, proved indispensable. Establishing initially the terms of operation, even at the expense of preliminary friction, avoided later misunderstanding, contributed immeasurably to smooth functioning and produced the desired atmosphere.

Taking into consideration kibbutz tradition, and incorporating whatever possible into the ritual, led to better communication and increased participation. In place of inspirational selections from religious authorities, there were appropriate readings from Zionist sources. The aforementioned essay of Gordon's is an example. Haim Greenberg's analysis of the message of Jonah as an introduction to *Ne'ila*, the very form of calling up to the Torah, the *Yizkor* adjusted to the local setting, Natan Alterman's satirical poem on the "Young Clergyman," the sermon delivered by a kibbutz member — all these made the difference.

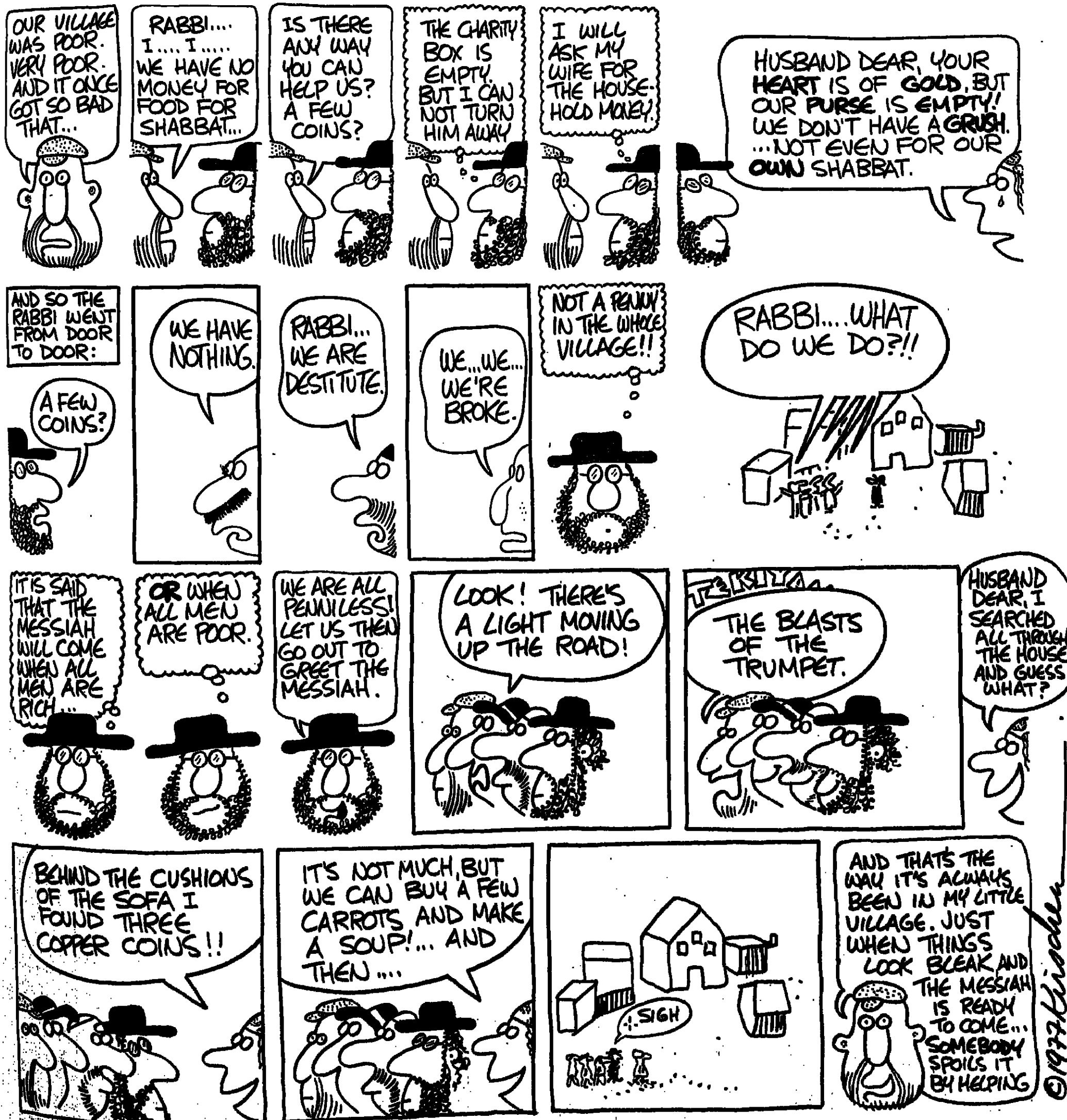
YET, in spite of it all, there was a note of sadness, for me at least. The striking and almost total absence of two elements, the high-school youth and those who currently make up the "establishment," was disappointing. The "generation of continuity," as they are known, the active leaders of the kibbutz who are in their 30s and 40s, remained completely aloof and removed from it all. Those who had left something behind had something to return to. Those who had nothing to remember had nothing to recall; so they stayed away.

On the morning following Yom Kippur, an invitation was extended to return for a weekend of worship, instruction and discussion. The leading intellectual of the kibbutz, a confirmed atheist of many years' standing, who would not permit himself to enter the synagogue at any time (though I suspect that, as in Feyet's story "Ne'ila," it was quite a struggle for him to overcome the temptation to do so), volunteered to serve as my official host for subsequent visits. To others he confided that he will eventually succeed in making an *apikores* (heretic) out of me. □

Dr. Gershon Wiener, formerly a Conservative rabbi in the U.S. and a professor of education in the U.S. and in Israel, is today the city manager of Dimona.

# The Rosh Hashana Dry Bones

## A NEW YEAR'S TALE



مَكْزَا مِنْ الْأَصْلِ